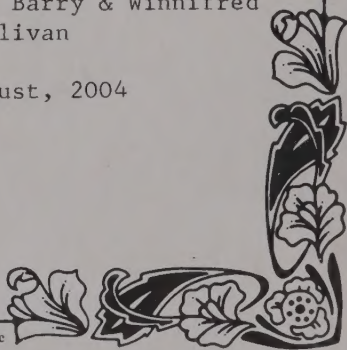


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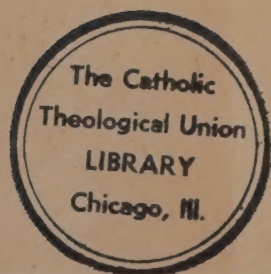
LLOYD FALLERS

c/o Barry & Winnifred
Sullivan

August, 2004



Falles



THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF NIGERIA



A Nupe Girl—Nupe Province

THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF NIGERIA

AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE NORTHERN
PROVINCES OF NIGERIA TOGETHER WITH A REPORT
ON THE 1921 DECENNIAL CENSUS

BY

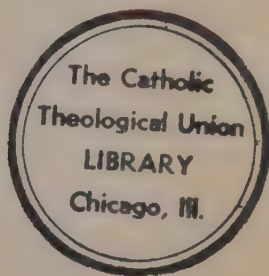
C. K. MEEK

B.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I.

LATE EXHIBITIONER OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD
DISTRICT OFFICER AND CENSUS COMMISSIONER, NIGERIA



VOLUME I



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PREFACE BY SIR HUGH CLIFFORD

ON the eve of my departure from Nigeria, I have been asked to write a few words of introduction to Mr. Meek's great compilation—the Census Report of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria for the year 1921.

At first sight it may seem that this Report is a somewhat belated document, seeing that the actual numbering of the people took place in the Spring of 1921, now exactly four years ago. As a matter of fact, however, the Report, as drafted and compiled by Mr. Meek, possesses an interest which is not ephemeral, and a value which the mere passage of a few years will have no power to diminish. Here, in this vast territory—which, if inset upon the map of Europe, would swamp a huge space enclosed within the international boundaries affecting, at least, four different nationalities—conditions are altering with an extraordinary rapidity. The whole social life of the people has undergone, in the last quarter of a century, a series of revolutionary transformations; and with the coming of new ideas, new ambitions and aspirations, and a new outlook upon life, it is almost incredible how short a time is needed for the obliteration even of the memory of old-world customs and of ancient land-marks among a primitive people.

The opportunity, therefore, was seized by my Government, when preparing for the Census operations of 1921, to include in the researches of the Census Officers as much ethnological and anthropological investigation as it was possible to undertake, in the time at their disposal, among the various and highly heterogeneous populations whom it was part of their task to enumerate. Mr. Meek himself, whose interest in ethnological and anthropological studies marked him out for selection to superintend the taking of the Census in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, supplemented the knowledge of which he already stood possessed by taking an anthropological course at Oxford; and, for the rest, his zeal, scientific curiosity and energy have resulted in placing upon record a great many facts connected with the more primitive peoples of the Northern

vi PREFACE BY SIR HUGH CLIFFORD

Provinces which, amid the rapidly changing circumstances to which allusion has already been made, might in a few years' time have been as lost to mankind as was the South American language which was last spoken on earth by Humbolt's aged parrot.

It is not, of course, contended that the Census Report, as it is here offered to the public, is capable of being regarded as in any sense a final document. It is not even maintained that it is, in every particular, completely accurate. No one who has not personally undertaken the task of investigations of this character among a shy and sensitive and primitive people can adequately realise the difficulties that surround the investigator; and though Mr. Meek's patience and knowledge of the people, and of the best methods of dealing with them, have stood him in good stead, it is probable that in the years to come much of the *data* enclosed in this Report will undergo revision, certainly in the direction of expansion, and not infrequently, it is probable, in that of correction also.

We in Nigeria have, I consider, great ethnological and anthropological responsibilities to science, having regard to the fact that the rapidity of the changes which have been and are being wrought is such that many matters of interest are to be regarded as shadow-shapes vanishing from off the face of earth. If they be not recorded, and recorded with skill and care, at the present time, they will be lost to human knowledge forever. It is as a considered effort to discharge the responsibilities above alluded to by the Government over which for the past six years it has been my privilege to preside, that I commend this Report, not only to those immediately interested in Nigeria, but to all serious students of ethnology and anthropology.

(Sgd.) HUGH CLIFFORD,
Governor of Nigeria, 1919-1925.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAGOS, NIGERIA,
April the 29th, 1925.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THESE volumes, the publication of which was made possible by the financial assistance given by the Government of Nigeria, were, in their original form, intended to be a Census Report for the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. It is not unusual for British Imperial Census Reports to include a considerable amount of Ethnography, and such reports have contributed not a little to the study of Anthropology, even though the writers may have laid no great claim to a specialized knowledge of this subject. For reasons which will be explained later, the Census material has been relegated to a secondary position, and the Ethnographical Report (which was undertaken at the instance of the Governor of Nigeria, Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G.) occupies the major part of the book. It is an attempt to give a connected account of the culture found in a part of the Empire which is little known to the general public, or even to students of Anthropology. It is based partly on reports rendered to the Government by various Administrative officers, and summarized (up to 1917) by Mrs. Temple in her admirable *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates, and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, and partly, I might even say mainly, on my own studies and observations in the field.

In a description of a culture which embraces ten million people and over two hundred and fifty different tribes, and covers an area of two hundred and fifty thousand square miles, it is obvious that there must be many inaccuracies and omissions. Further, I would ask readers to remember that most of the Ethnography was written in Nigeria, where there was no access to works of reference, and at a time when I was busy with the administration of the Census and tabulation of the results.

It is hoped that in the near future anthropological work of an intensive character may be carried out in the

Northern Provinces, before the tribal institutions and customs have become affected by alien influences. The Nigerian Government is fully alive to the value for administration of a thorough knowledge of native institutions ; with this knowledge comes that respect which is the basis of all good government. It will be seen by those who have the patience to read through this book that even the most primitive Negro peoples are in their public and personal life governed by highly organized and surprisingly complex political and social institutions, which deserve the most profound study and consideration.

For the chapter on languages I had the collaboration of Mr. Northcote Thomas, whose knowledge of the Sudanic languages is unrivalled. The data on which we worked was of limited character, but it is hoped that it may be possible to fill in the gaps at no distant date. I am also indebted to Mr. Thomas for reading and criticising much of the manuscript, and also to Dr. Marett, Professor Seligman, Mr. Henry Balfour, and Mr. J. G. F. Tomlinson for their encouragement and many helpful suggestions. The photographs are, with one or two exceptions, my own.

As regards the Census material it will appear that no great reliance can be placed on the accuracy of the figures presented. Until the administration of the country has reached a much more developed condition the basic statistics must remain approximate. Many of the township tables have been omitted, as the numbers resident in the townships are so few, in comparison with the rest of the population, that no useful purpose can be served by an elaborate analysis. Indeed, the whole report on the Census has been cut down as far as possible. It is hoped, nevertheless, that the figures given may serve as a foundation for more accurate work in years to come.

C. K. MEEK.

OXFORD, 19th September, 1922.

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DEFINITIONS

Tribe. So far as Africa is concerned the definition of a tribe must rest, in the main, on a linguistic basis. Those people who have a common name for their language and feel themselves to be speaking the same language can be conveniently termed tribes, irrespective of political circumstances. This will not perhaps give a water-tight definition, for political circumstances may modify instincts, and languages really the same may be regarded as different if the peoples in question are under different rulers. Other languages, again, may be commonly known by the same term, though the forms of it are numerous and so varied that the inhabitants of towns a few miles apart could not, in pre-European days, make themselves intelligible to each other.

A fusion of tribes, whether for political or other purposes, may be termed a *nation*. Subdivisions of the tribe may be termed *sub-tribes* if the difference is dialectical; *local groups* if it is geographical. The local group may in practice coincide with a unit of a wholly different nature, namely, the clan.

The *clan* is a body of people descended, or believed to be descended, from a common ancestor, who lived in an age so remote that genealogies—if they are preserved—must be, almost without exception, fictitious. A clan is often distinguished by being an exogamous unit. Where a clan is associated with a certain species of animals, it cannot always be ascertained by inspection whether this is due to the fact that the species of animals was or is

regarded as a totem, or whether it is respected for reasons which may be termed religious, or for reasons which may roughly be termed economic, *i.e.* because of its importance as food. The term *totem* is so vaguely used that it appears better in descriptive works to avoid the use of it altogether and to substitute for it the native term. It will sometimes happen that the native term as used by the native is ambiguous. In such cases care must be taken to limit its use as a descriptive term to one well-marked sense. If, for example, the word used by the native means forbidden animal, it must be used as a descriptive term only of such species of animals as are sacrosanct to an individual by descent either from the father or mother, according as the rule of descent is patrilineal or matrilineal. Where the individual observes prohibitions imposed by a diviner or priest another term must be taken, and if it does not exist in the native language it is simplest to adopt a European term, carefully defining it.

Dodo is a widely-used term, the English equivalent of which is "Masker." It includes the central figures of secret societies—the priest who represents the god, a figure present at circumcision ceremonies without any well-defined functions, and so on.

A number of distinct senses may be distinguished, to any of which the term *soul* may be applied. In ordinary native parlance terms are not used scientifically. They shade off one into another and, for example, a shadow soul may be found to be identical with the ghost. In describing re-incarnation beliefs, which are perhaps specially fluid, the greatest care must be used to ensure that there is no looseness in the use of words, however loose may be the native thought upon these subjects. It is necessary to avoid any attempt to display native ideas as a kind of

well-established natural theology. The simplest method of dealing with such cases is to take each leading idea, trace its ramifications and concatenations, and then proceed to illustrate the contradictory usage or usages current among the natives. The soul may, for example, be regarded as having a double in the other world, which at the death of the man is born into the world, while the soul of the dead man replaces the double in the other world. Concurrently with this a double may be regarded as a genius who guides or misguides the human being. Side by side with both these currents of thought may be found a well-developed theological view in which both soul-double and genius are subject to the will of a god. Then again the term used for "double" may also be applied to the image which represents him; or the creed may be dualistic and the genius is found to be split into two, one good and the other bad. Dualism of this nature and the theological creed mentioned above are *prima facie* evidence of outside influence. It is of advantage to give as far as possible a glossary of native terms referring to religion or social organization, with examples showing how each term is used by the native.

Native of Nigeria,¹ according to the definition laid down by the Nigerian Government, means any person whose parents were members of any tribe or tribes indigenous to Nigeria and the descendants of such persons, and includes any person one of whose parents was a member of such a tribe. This definition would include those natives of Sierra Leone who are of Yoruba extraction, but all such have been classed here as Native Foreigners. (See following definition). Where large sections of tribes mainly domiciled in the French Sudan have settled in the Northern

¹ See Interpretation Ordinance 1914.

Provinces, these have been classed as natives of Nigeria. Where the term "Natives" is used alone natives of Nigeria are intended (though according to the Government definition "natives" includes both natives of Nigeria and native-foreigners).

Native Foreigner means any person (not being a native of Nigeria) whose parents were members of a tribe or tribes indigenous to some part of Africa and the descendants of such persons, and shall include any person one of whose parents was a member of such a tribe.

Non-Native means any person who is not a native of Nigeria or a Native Foreigner.

Townships. By this term is meant, not native towns, but the municipalities created by the Townships Ordinance of 1917. They coincide for the most part with the centres of European trade. The township statistics refer only to townships of the second class, as there are no first-class townships in the Northern Provinces.

The native terms used in the text are Hausa except where otherwise stated.



REFERENCE

Names of provinces ... **KANO**
 Provincial headquarters ... **ABEOKUTA**
 Other towns of first importance ... **KATSINA**
 Principal telegraph offices ... T.
 Wireless telegraphs ...

Railways in operation
 Proposed Railway
 Main roads
 Main roads with telegraphs
 Telegraphs only
 Boundary between North and South Provinces

8°

10°

12°

14°

4°

PART I
ETHNOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Boundaries—Area—Present mode of government—Geology—Hydrographic system—Mountain system—Climate—Flora — Fauna — Ornithology — Anthropogeography — Avenues of Communication.

Boundaries. The Northern Provinces of the Protectorate of Nigeria constitute the areas known, prior to the amalgamation with the Southern Provinces in 1914, as the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the administration of which had been inaugurated by the British Government in 1900. Previous to this date these areas had been partially administered by the Royal Niger Company. They comprise the country between the basins of the Niger and Benue Rivers in the south, and the fourteenth line of latitude in the north. The longitudinal boundaries are roughly the fourth and fourteenth parallels east of Greenwich. The Provinces thus fall within the geographical area known as the Central Sudan, *i.e.* the country between the Niger river and Lake Chad.

Across the western and northern boundaries are the French possessions of Dahomey and the Territoire Militaire du Niger. On the eastern side that portion of the Cameroons now held by France under a mandate borders on the British Provinces of Bornu and Yola, which have lately received a slight accession of Cameroons territory, also held under a mandate from the League of Nations. This accession has brought within the British sphere a population of over a quarter of a million, which is to a great extent connected historically and ethnically with the British Provinces already named.

The boundary with the Southern Provinces leaves the frontier of Dahomey at a point slightly to the south of the ninth degree of latitude, and running east and south-east reaches the Niger river at Egori. It then follows the left bank of the Niger southwards to below Iddah, and thereafter takes a generally eastern course towards the British Cameroons. This boundary is the result of recent adjustments, made with a view to setting up a fairly exact line of ethnical demarcation between the Northern and Southern Provinces.

Area. The area of the Northern Provinces is 254,237 square miles or five times the size of England (without Wales). That of the mandated territory (which is known as the Northern Cameroons and is attached for administrative purposes to the Provinces of Bornu and Yola) is approximately 7000 square miles.

Present mode of Government. For administrative purposes the Northern Provinces were, at the time of the census, divided into twelve¹ Provinces, viz.: Ilorin, Munshi, and Muri in the south; Kontagora, Nupe, Zaria, Nasarawa, Bauchi, and Yola in the centre; and Sokoto, Kano and Bornu in the north. These divisions have been made primarily on grounds of political history, but ethnical relationship has been considered as far as possible. There are in addition to the provinces certain detached urban areas known as townships, in which the non-native and foreign-native population are mainly centred.

The administration of the Northern Provinces is delegated by the Governor of Nigeria to a Lieutenant-Governor, whose headquarters are at Kaduna. A Resident, assisted by a staff of district officers, is responsible to the Lieu-

¹ A thirteenth province—Kabba—has since been constituted (November 1921).

tenant-Governor for the administration of each province. The more important townships are under the control of British Station Magistrates, who are assisted by an advisory board.

The Supreme Court of Nigeria, presided over by the Chief Justice, has original jurisdiction within certain defined areas and a general appellate jurisdiction, and each Resident has a Provincial Court, of which his district officers are commissioners. The common law, the doctrines of equity, and the statutes of general application which were in force in England on the first of January, 1900, are in force within the jurisdiction of these courts; but the courts also observe existing Native law or custom, where these are not repugnant to natural justice and humanity. The Chief Justice may transfer any cause from any Provincial Court to the Supreme Court. The Station Magistrates of the townships are *ex-officio* commissioners of the Supreme Court.

The British Administration is backed by a military force of about 2500 native troops with British officers. There is also a Government police force 1000 strong.

Further, with a view to the preservation of internal autonomy there are in each province Native Administrations, based on the administrative organization which existed under Native rule prior to the British occupation. The machinery of the Muslim Emirates of the past has been continued, only such changes having been made as were necessary for the substitution of co-adunate districts for the scattered fiefs of these Emirates. The Emir is responsible to the Government—represented by the Resident, who stands to the Emir in the relation of Adviser—for the good government of his Emirate. The Emirate is subdivided into districts, in charge of which are district

headmen, who are, in their turn, responsible to the Emir for the maintenance of good order and the collection of revenue.

In pagan areas the existing tribal organization has been preserved and utilized as far as possible for administrative purposes, but as this organization is generally of a primitive character the authority of the British Resident is more direct than in the Muslim States.

There are also Native Courts which deal with the greater part of the judicial work of the provinces. In the Muhammadan Emirates the Native judges (*Alkalai*) are men well trained in the Muslim Shari'a, and the principal courts have the fullest powers. The Native Courts are of three classes : (a) those which consist of a Native judge with or without assistants ; (b) those consisting of a paramount chief, with minor chiefs acting in conjunction or as assessors ; and (c) those consisting of chiefs or other persons representing the community.

These Native courts administer the Native law prevailing in the territory over which they have jurisdiction, with the general proviso that no punishment may be inflicted involving mutilation or torture, or which is repugnant to modern ideas of natural justice or humanity. The Governor may order the re-trial of any capital case, or commute the sentence, or pardon the person sentenced. The Resident may suspend or reduce any sentence, order a re-hearing of any case, or transfer it to the British Provincial Court. Any person may appeal to the Resident from the decision of a Native court. The courts of the pagan tribes are generally competent to deal only with minor complaints, serious cases being transferred to British Provincial Courts, where Native law and customs are given full weight. There are Native police under the Native Administrations.

The Native Administrations are provided with funds, derived from a moiety of the proceeds of direct taxation, Native court fees, and some miscellaneous sources. These funds are employed for the payment of the salaries of officials of the Native administrations, education, public works, etc.

Thus in the Northern Provinces a policy of indirect rule has been pursued, with the object of assisting the natives to evolve, under British guidance, a system of government which is in general accordance with their own institutions, and at the same time does not conflict with the governmental principles of modern civilized states.

Geology. Dr. Falconer has elsewhere fully described the geological formations of the Northern Provinces. I am indebted to him for the following brief summary :

“ Over the greater part of the Northern Provinces the basal crystalline rocks of Africa are exposed at the surface in the form of granites and gneisses of Archaean age. In them were contained the lodes and reefs and veins whose disintegration has provided the alluvial tin and gold deposits of Bauchi and Zaria Provinces respectively. Between Archaean and Mesozoic times there is in Nigeria a great blank in the geological record. Upper Cretaceous sandstones, shales, and fossiliferous limestones of marine origin are found in the Benue and Gongola valleys, where they are associated with a more recent series of sandstones and ironstones, which extend into the Niger valley, and which may possibly be continuous with the upper coal-bearing beds of the Southern Provinces. A fossiliferous group of Upper Cretaceous age occurs also in Sokoto Province. In the Benue valley these Cretaceous rocks yield local supplies of salt and are crossed by veins of galena. In late Tertiary times volcanic activity broke out on and around the Bauchi plateau and in Southern Bornu, but all the foci are now extinct.”

Hydrographic System. The great belt of rain-clouds which centres round the Equator, moving north or south

according to the position of the Sun, extends its influence almost to the fringe of the Sahara desert. But whereas for the first ten degrees of latitude north of the Equator the rains of the wet season are torrential and regular, as we move north of this point they become increasingly less in volume, until at the thirteenth parallel the rainy season is confined to a few months only and the country suffers from an excess of drought. This meteorological fact determines not merely the character of the country but also that of the people, conditioning their mode of life, their work, and likewise their culture.

The hydrographic system reflects these meteorological conditions. In the south of the Northern Provinces are two huge rivers.—the Niger and the Benue—with countless tributaries. In the north the sluggish streams of the wet season disappear for the most part during the dry season and become mere disconnected pools. The Bauchi highlands form the main watershed. Here innumerable streams take their origin, becoming during the torrential rains of the wet season dangerous deep mountain torrents. Among these are the Gongola, which joins the Benue at Numan in Yola Province, and the Kaduna, which flows south-west to meet the Niger at Mureggi. The principal rivers of the north are the Gulbin Kebbi, a tributary of the Niger, which waters the province of Sokoto ; the Hadeija river, which flows through the provinces of Kano and Bornu to Lake Chad ; and in the east the Yedseram—also a tributary of Lake Chad.

In the north-east corner of Bornu stands the distant outpost of Lake Chad, one-third of whose surface falls within British territory.

The *Niger* or, as it is known locally, the *Kworra*, the third greatest river of Africa (being 2600 miles long),



Fig. 1. On the Niger



Fig. 2. On the Benue

enters the Northern Provinces at Illo and flows 450 miles south-east to Idah. At this point, on the right bank, it marks the boundary with the Southern Provinces (on the left bank the boundary is some 45 miles further south). About 250 miles from its mouth it is joined at Lokoja by the Benue, coming from the Eastern highlands of Adamawa.

The Niger has an annual rise of from 30 to 35 feet, and its breadth varies in places from a few hundred yards in the dry season to two miles in the wet. It is navigable in the wet season for small ocean steamers as far as Baro, where there is a railway terminus, and for smaller craft as far north as Bajibo. Above this point navigation is dangerous, the river being full of rocks, rapids, and whirlpools. North of Leaba are the rapids of Wuru, the roar of which can be heard for many miles. Further on are the rapids of Patassi and Gasafiri. At Bussa, where Mungo Park met his death, the channel is obstructed by islands and submerged rocks. At these various places where rapids occur the natives have their canoes unloaded, the loads being carried by porters (generally women) to some safe point beyond.

Throughout its course the Niger valley is marked by a striking alternation between rocky gorges and open plains. In the plain country between Jebba and Lokoja the channel of the river is dotted with innumerable sandy islets, which disappear as the river rises. Another striking feature of this part of the Niger valley is the presence of flat-topped hills of sandstone.

It is here interesting to wonder if the main stream of the Niger has always followed its present course through the Northern Provinces. Ancient geographers consistently represented the Niger as flowing east to join the

Nile, presumably via Lake Chad and the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Dr. Falconer, in speaking of the Gulbin Kebbi, the main northern tributary of the Niger in these parts, states that the breadth of the valley of the Kebbi is out of all proportion both to the height of the boundary walls and to the volume of the river itself. Further, according to an ancient tradition, when Kishra,¹ the leader of many pagan immigrant tribes, first crossed the Niger in Kontagora it was then a small stream, and was said to have been converted by magic into a great river by the Muslims who pursued Kishra and did not wish him to return. In this connection it is a remarkable fact that one of the islands of Lake Chad is to this day known as Ngiria. Though it would be fanciful to suggest that the Niger has cut its way from Yelwa to Jebba within historic times, it is possible that at one time the river was connected with Lake Chad.

The Benue—which was said by Barth to mean in the Bata tongue 'The Mother of Waters,'²—is the Niger's chief affluent. "Compared with the Niger valley," says Dr. Falconer, "the Benue presents all the characteristics of a more ancient topography." The river rises in Adamawa about 7° 40' north and 13° 15' east, a little to the north of the town of Ngaundere, at a height of over 3000 feet above the sea. In its upper course it is a mountain torrent, falling 2000 feet in 150 miles. It flows past Yola, which is some 850 miles by river from the sea, at an altitude of 600 feet, and with a width of 1,000 to 1,500 yards. Fifty miles below Yola it is joined on the right bank by its main tributary the Gongola, a river over 300

¹ See pp. 71 and 72, vol. i.

² This is a typical Bantu method of referring to rivers. But the Bata are not Bantu, and according to Dr. Bronnum, who knows these people intimately, the word is pronounced *gbinwe* and means "big death," *gbin* = big and *wei* = death.

miles long, which is navigable by light-draught steamers for half its course during two months of the year.

The Benue is comparatively free of rapids, but owing to the great annual fall of the river is only navigable by river steamers for a month or two of the wet season, reaching its greatest height in August or September, when the river may be as much as 75 feet above its low-water level, and frequently over a mile broad. There is a slight rise in the stream during January owing to the accession of waters from the Upper Niger. The Benue continues its course through vast alluvial plains until it joins the Niger at Lokoja. Its main tributaries in addition to the Gongola are the Taraba and Katsina rivers, both on the left bank.

Lake Chad. Lake Chad, situated on the north-east corner of Bornu, is a vast sheet of shallow water about 800 feet above sea-level. It is subject to great variations occasioned by the north-westerly harmattan wind, which causes a considerable rise on the west and south-west banks, and periodical variations at long intervals, which cause the banks to advance or recede for many miles. Barth mentioned Ngornu as having in his time been inundated, though it is now eight miles from the water. In the nineties of last century the advance of the waters led to a great shortage of farming land in the vicinity of the lake. At present its extreme length may be put at 120 miles, its area being about the size of Belgium. But the British section of the lake hardly exceeds 100 miles long by 20 to 25 miles wide.

Lake Chad was known to the ancients, but it was frequently confused, especially by Arabic writers, with the lakes of Timbuktu, Fitri, and those of the Upper Nile. In proportion to its vast extent it is the shallowest lake

in the world—being on an average only four to six feet deep, though in places it reaches as much as three or four fathoms. It is chiefly dependent on its affluents—the Shari river principally, and countless other streams, and but for these feeders would rapidly dry up, owing to the enormous annual evaporation. The banks are ill-defined, the water's edge being a zone of swamp marked by tall reeds. The lake is studded with small islands, some of which in the British section are said to have appeared only in recent years. There are permanent Buduma settlements on the islands.

There is clear evidence that the shores of Chad have in recent years considerably receded, but in view of the great periodic variations to which the lake is subject it would be hazardous to say definitely that the lake is drying up. One would suppose, however, that the tons of sand annually deposited in the lake by the harmattan would tend in time to cause its extinction. It is also believed by some geologists that, as the ancient accounts seemed to indicate, there is some underground extension of Lake Chad towards the north-east. Nachtigal believed the Bahr-el-Ghazal to be an effluent of Lake Chad; and the Tilho Mission, on the ground of the presence of salt in the surrounding country and the comparative lack of salinity in the waters of the lake, inclined to share this view. The fauna in the region between the Nile and Chad seems also, the Mission thought, to indicate that there were ancient fluvial connections between the Nile and Chad, and that there was possibly a vast ancient sea which was in communication with the basins of the Nile, Congo, and Niger. The present lake would on this assumption be but one of the many outlying archipelagoes of this vast inland sea of former times.

Mountain System. Africa generally has a mean elevation of over 2000 feet. It is a plateau with a low-lying belt round the coast. Nigeria strikingly exhibits these general characteristics. There is a gradual ascent from the coast towards the Sahara. If we leave out of consideration the valleys of the Lower Niger and of the Benue and the highlands of Bauchi, we find in the Northern Provinces a general elevation of well over 1000 feet. Thus Ilorin, Sokoto, and Gombe are 1100 feet above sea-level, Katsina and Kano have an altitude of 1510 feet, Katagum of 1400 feet, Maiduguri of 1180, Zaria of 2230. Lokoja, at the confluence of the Niger and the Benue, has an elevation of only 320 feet, while Ibi half-way up the Benue is just 350 feet above sea-level. On the other hand the mean elevation of the Bauchi Plateau is over 4000 feet.

The mountain ranges are confined mostly to the centre. The northerly provinces (Bornu, Kano, and Sokoto) are vast sandy steppes. The great alluvial plain which covers the major part of Bornu and stretches to within a few miles of Kano is particularly noteworthy, and is suggestive of a former hydrographic system very different from the waterless condition of to-day. This absence of natural geographical barriers in the north has had an immense influence on the history and ethnology of Nigeria, and on this subject we shall have more to say later on. Besides the central mountain system there are also the notable ranges of the Vere Hills in Yola, the Bura Plateau in southern Bornu, and the highlands to the south-east of Lokoja.

Climate. The northern belt of Nigeria occupies climatically an intermediate position between the arid conditions of French Sudan and the excessive moisture of the more equatorial provinces of the south. The seasons are

two—a wet season extending from April or May to September or October, and a dry for the remaining months.

The provinces situated to the north of the central mountain system suffer from a scanty rain supply. Thus in Kano the average annual rainfall hardly exceeds 34 inches, and in Bornu and Sokoto it is considerably less (viz. $23\frac{1}{2}$, $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches). Further south, at Zaria, the rain averages about 43 inches. In these provinces the inhabitants are generally dependent on wells for their water-supply during the dry season. Droughts followed by famines have been frequent. (In Kano in 1913 the rainfall was 19 inches only.) It is commonly said that the more northern provinces have a growing tendency towards drought conditions, a process which is stated to be going on throughout the whole of Africa (as appears in North Africa by the desert ruins of vast cities which were once the grain emporia of the civilized world). The evidence of twenty years' observation in the Northern Provinces cannot be adduced to support this theory, but the disappearance of game, the dried up water-courses, the constant deposits by the harmattan wind of sand from the Sahara, and the migrations from north to south, would all seem to favour this view. If it is true that trees attract rain, and are not the result of rain, the wholesale deforestation of the country by the natives prior to the British occupation must also be reckoned as having had a detrimental effect on the rain-supply. In the centre and south the rainfall is more than adequate.

During the dry season a constant north-east wind blows from the desert to the sea. This wind, known on the Mediterranean as the Sirocco, in Egypt as the Khamsin, is in West Africa called the Harmattan. It is an excessively dry wind, and is so heavily charged with particles

of fine sand as to cloud the atmosphere. Its dryness causes enormous evaporation, and consequently long spells of cold weather. The effects of the Harmattan are most keenly felt in the exposed provinces of the north, especially in the months of January and February, but its influence is also felt as far south as Lagos. Its gradual disappearance in March is followed by a month of excessively hot weather, after which the first tornadoes break, ushering in the rainy season. The heaviest rains fall in July and August. Tornadoes are again frequent towards the close of the rainy season. During the wet season thick dews are deposited as a result of the fall of temperature that follows on the tornadoes. In the vicinity of Lake Chad these dews give rise to dense fogs in the early morning and a humid atmosphere throughout the day.

The hottest months, we have said, are March, April, and May. At this time the shaded thermometer commonly reads 107° in the afternoon. In Bornu it has been known to reach 124° . The nights are often oppressively hot in the more northern districts, the thermometer frequently reading 100° . In December and January, on the other hand, the thermometer during the day seldom rises above 75° , and the night temperature may fall below 40° .

As an instance of the dried-up conditions of many parts of the northern districts, it may be mentioned that there are places in Sokoto where during the dry season the inhabitants have to send donkeys twenty miles to get their daily supply of water. The Godabawa district of Sokoto has an area of over 1400 square miles. Of this 400 square miles are waterless.

Flora. The flora reflects the climatic and geological conditions. In respect of flora the passage from the humid regions of the Southern Provinces to the more arid

conditions of the north is from a country studded with a thick forest flora to a savanna country interspersed with trees and occasional patches of forest known as "kurumi." The characteristic trees of this region are the baobab, the tamarind, silk-cotton, dum-palm, mahogany, acacias and euphorbias, and thorns with leathery foliage. The coconut gradually disappears, and the thick oil-palm forests of the south become thinner and thinner as you advance towards the Bauchi highlands, their place being taken further north by the date-palm, the characteristic tree of the desert. As you approach the French boundary sand-dunes begin to appear, being as much as 120 feet high on the borders of Bornu. Vegetation there becomes very scanty, consisting of a long coarse grass. The dunes are crossed by depressions covered with dum-palms, and in these also are found the deposits of salt and potash for which Bornu is famed.

Around Lake Chad the flora is scanty, but the ambatch tree is to be seen in abundance. Large trees resembling olives are found in the Bauchi highlands. The soil of the Northern Provinces is generally poor. The forest fires of the dry season destroy the vegetation that would enrich the ground, and the torrential rains of the wet season wash away any good that these fires might have done. The richest soil is found in the Benue valley and on the islands of Lake Chad, which emerge during the dry season.

Fauna. The fauna reflects the floral conditions. The open park-like country is the home of countless antelopes. Buffaloes, lions, leopards, hyaenas, jackals, and hunting dogs abound. Giraffes and rhinoceroses are found in restricted areas in the north. Hippopotami and crocodiles are commonly seen in the rivers. Herds of elephants can still be found in most districts, but judging by native reports

of the former range of these animals it was only the legislation of 1900 that prevented the complete extermination of the breed. Long-tailed monkeys and dog-faced baboons, both destructive of the crops, abound. Wart-hogs, bush-pigs, lynx, civet cats, grey badgers, mongoose, bats, flying foxes, and manatee are also to be found. Bull-frogs haunt the river-banks and pools, and small tortoises are common in the bush. Rodents include the cane rat, squirrel, and hare.

Ornithology, etc. Birds are even more numerous in species than the mammalia, and the variety of beautiful colouring which many of these birds display in the early spring is astonishing. Brilliant-coloured finches and weaver-birds can be seen in the village trees. The black and scarlet plumage of the cock-weaver makes it the most resplendent of African birds. The weaver-birds are great destroyers of crops. Sun-birds with green blue or red plumage, bee-eaters, black and white wagtails, parakeets, and parrots, halcyons and king-fishers, long-tailed starlings, pelicans, crocodile birds, woodpeckers, black ibis, owls, and sparrows abound. The black-and-white African crow is commonly seen, and scavenger vultures haunt every village. Bush vultures, hawks, and kites are numerous, and the black-crested eagle is often noticed, especially around the shores of Lake Chad. Hornbills, crested cranes, egrets, and storks are also common, the storks serving a useful purpose by killing poisonous snakes. Marabouts are found chiefly along the banks of the northern streams. White cattle-egrets follow the cattle. Sand-grouse of at least two species are a conspicuous feature of the drier parts of the country, the beautiful African painted sand-grouse being specially abundant in such localities. The ostrich is frequently seen in Bornu.

It is often domesticated, and as such it may be found even in southern towns. Bustard, plover, snipe, teal, various pigeons, francolin, and guinea-fowl are ubiquitous ; also various species of duck, many of which are migratory and identical with the commoner European species. There are numerous other migratory birds, such as crested larks and wagtails.

Of reptiles there are innumerable snakes, and lizards. Small brown and large black scorpions live underneath stones. Chameleons are not uncommon, nor are water and land monitors. Of the snakes the black spitting cobra (*Naga Nigricollis*), the puff-adder and the sand-viper (*Echis Carinatus*) are the most dangerous. The spitting cobra, which has the habit of discharging a blinding poison into the eyes of its aggressors, often enters houses in search of rats, whilst the puff-adder and sand-viper are inert reptiles and liable to get in the way of pedestrians.

West Africa is the home of insects. There is every kind of moth, butterfly, and beetle. There are driver-ants and innumerable destructive termites. Belts of tsetse-fly exist all over the Northern Provinces. This fly is the carrier of sleeping sickness. As its bite is so often fatal to domestic animals its presence has exercised a most profound economic and even ethnical influence. Another pest is the locusts, whose periodic descents in clouds on the standing crops makes them an economic danger of the first importance. Centipedes, millipedes, caterpillars (some edible), bees, and hornets are also found. Sand-flies, mosquitoes, and crickets abound. The jigger, which is said to have been introduced into West Africa from America in the nineteenth century, has not yet penetrated into the Northern Provinces to any great extent.

Fish. The rivers abound in fish. Notable among these

is the electric cat-fish. Turtles, prawns, and even oysters are found. The scald salamander is to be seen in Lake Chad, and this has been used as an argument in favour of the view that there was hydrographical connection between Lake Chad and the Nile.

Anthropogeography. The influence of the geographical and other natural conditions just described has been of such paramount importance in directing the movements of tribes and in moulding their culture, social organization, and economic life that a few words may be said here on this subject. Among peoples who are still in the primitive condition of the majority of the northern tribes of Nigeria the conquest of Nature by man is small indeed when compared to the determining influence exercised by Nature over man. Thus the close proximity to the desert of the northern fertile provinces and the absence of natural barriers have for countless ages drawn into the country we are considering horde after horde of invading tribes from the north and east, and have produced a heterogeneity of cultures and languages which almost defies analysis. Those tribes which were able to maintain themselves in the open fertile plains of the north have to a great extent intermixed and evolved a common tongue. A land so easily accessible facilitates commixture and the exchange of commodities and ideas. Thus it is that a comparatively homogeneous Hausa nation has been evolved from the most diverse elements.

The less-organized tribes, however, were forced to seek refuge in the hill countries, where they formed enclaves which have resulted in polyglot peoples, exhibiting almost unparalleled diversities in culture and social organization. The stream of intrusion was stayed by the mountains, and their secluded position in detached groups has enabled

them to maintain all their primordial ideas of religion and space. The hard conditions of mountain life and the struggle for land have tended towards perennial inter-tribal and inter-village wars.

Mountaineers are mauraunders, and so individualists. They have never learned to live and let live, and so among the mountain tribes we find a marked absence of any central authority. In religion they have not passed beyond the stage of ancestor worship, while their head-hunting, cannibalistic practices, and absence of clothes mark them down as among the more primitive peoples of the world. It is worthy of note that it is in the coldest regions of Nigeria that the people wear no clothes.

A word remains to be said of the effect which a favourable geographical environment has exercised on the nomad Fulani. A large number of this invading people, finding themselves through superior political ability in possession of extensive fertile lands, have abandoned the nomad habits of their fathers and become settled agriculturists, commingling with the former inhabitants to such an extent that they are rapidly losing their racial characteristics. Throughout history this has been the common fate of invading tribes from the desert.

Avenues of Communication. Formerly the main avenues of communication were the waterways of the Benue and the Niger and their tributaries. Bornu was the broadway for invading tribes, and these found an easy passage west along the Komadugu river and the great plain of Bornu to Kano, Katsina, Zaria, and the south. Others appear to have followed the southern route to Yola, and the south-western route towards Nafada and Bauchi. Bornu was connected with Egypt by Darfur and Kordofan, and could be approached from Kanem via Lake Chad. It had direct



Fig. 3. Ox transport —Kano



Fig. 4. Donkey transport —Kano

connection also with the Mediterranean by Bilma, Murzuk, and Tripoli. The Hausa States could be approached directly from the north through Zinder, Asben, and Ghat, and also by Bornu and Bilma, and from the north-west by the Niger valley. The Munshi appear to have come into Nigeria via the Cross river, and there was considerable tribal movement from south of the Benue towards the north. A glance at the language map will show that the tribes belonging to the Nupe-speaking group followed the line of the Niger and Benue rivers.

The present-day system of communications consists of roads, rivers, and railway. The ordinary narrow native paths have, on the main routes, been widened, and a system of roads for motor transport is being developed. Head portage is the normal mode of transporting merchandise along the roads, and in this class of work the Hausa excel all other tribes, carrying loads of 60-120 lbs. or more twenty miles per day. Donkeys and oxen are commonly employed to transport loads of 150-200 lbs., while in the more northerly regions camels are widely used to take burdens of anything up to 400 lbs. The Niger and Benue rivers, with their tributaries, provide a network of waterways for canoe transport. Between July and October steamers of 10-foot draught can proceed as far as Jebba, which is 500 miles from the mouth of the Niger, and on the Benue vessels of 800 tons displacement can ascend as far as Yola. In the dry season, however, steamers are displaced by steel barges having a draught of little more than one foot. Both the Government and the Niger Company own a fleet of steamers.

The Nigerian railway runs through the provinces of Ilorin, Nupe, and Zaria to Kano, with branch lines from Minna to Baro, and from Zaria to Bukuru. The gauge is

3 feet 6 inches, but the light railway to Bukuru has only a gauge of 2 feet 6 inches. The railway system is being developed so as to connect the existing lines with Port Harcourt and the coal-fields of Udi.

All the important political and trading centres are connected by telegraph.

II

ETHNIC TYPES

Tribal map—Tribal distribution—Racial elements—Classification—Types of villages and houses—Clothing and ornaments—Tribal marks.

Tribal distribution. The principal tribes of the Northern Provinces are the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Nupe, and Yoruba, the majority of whom are comparatively highly civilized and of the Muhammadan religion. There are, in addition, over 250 other tribes, most of whom are Animists.

The most widely distributed tribe—or rather nation—is the Hausa. Socially and economically the Hausa may be said to dominate the country. They are centred principally in the Muslim Emirates of Sokoto, Katsina, Kano, and Zaria, but Hausa towns are to be found in every one of the twelve provinces. Their numerical strength is over 3,300,000.

Nomad Fulani wander all over the provinces, but their principal settlements are in the northern and Yola Emirates. Settled Fulani—or Fulanin Gidda, as they are called in Hausa—exercise the chief political control in all the Muslim States except Bornu, and so are to be found in all the principal political centres. With the exception of Kano and Sokoto Provinces, they seldom form more than a small part of the population. Their total numerical strength is about two millions.

The Kanuri and Kanembu tribes (or Beri-beri, as they are termed by the Hausa) are centred in Bornu, where there are also extensive settlements of Shuwa Arabs, as

well as various pagan tribes such as the Keri-Keri, Ngizim, etc. The Beri-beri number about 650,000.

A great belt of Sudanic and semi-Bantu speaking tribes, many of them head-hunters, stretches across from Yola to Kontagora, among some of whom are the Margi, Jukun, Hona, Lala, Longuda, Jarawa, Tangale, Ankwe, Montoil, Angas, Berom, Rukuba, Mada, Ninzam, Gwari, Basa, and Kamberi.

The Nupe are a large and important mixed Muslim and pagan tribe occupying the country between the Kaduna and Gurara rivers. The Nupe-speaking peoples number about 350,000.

The Yoruba, Kupa, Kakanda, and Igbira live west of the Niger between Jebba and Lokoja ; while south of the Benue we find the Basa, Igara, Munshi, Jukun, Mumuye, Bata, Vere, and many other smaller tribes. The Yoruba-speaking peoples number 630,000.

Racial elements. With such a great variety of tribes it is impossible even to give a short ethnographical account of each. Not merely do they exhibit the widest cultural, linguistic, and physical differences as between each other, but, owing to free immigration and intermixture, sections and individuals of the same tribe differ so notably that it is very often difficult to discover in a tribe any fixed type at all. Nevertheless it is possible to distinguish or disengage from amidst the great variety of types three predominating elements.

Negro. With the exception of those Fulani nomad tribes which have kept their Mediterranean or Hamitic blood comparatively pure from Negro admixture, and also to a lesser extent of the nomad and settled Semitic Arabs, the Negro element is everywhere predominant. The basic Negro characteristics are almost too well known to need description.

“ Torta comam, labroque tumens et fusca colorem,
Pectore lata, iacens mammis, compressor alvo,
Cruribus exilis, spatiosa prodiga planta,”

is to-day as typical of the splay-footed and the blubber-lipped Nigerian woman as it was of the African negress in the time of Vergil. The average Negro is short, but there is great diversity between the tribes. The Munshi may be not more than five feet five, while the Jen is perhaps six inches taller. The legs of some tribes (*e.g.* Yoruba) are long in proportion to the body. The forehead is narrow, high, and steep, and occasionally shows considerable development of the brow-ridges ; the skull may be dolichocephalic or brachycephalic, and in the parietal region is decidedly flattened. The chin is narrow and retreating, especially in the women. The breast development in the men is marked. The hair is frizzled, being elliptical in transverse section, so that its natural tendency is to curl. It is not worn very long. There is little growth on the upper lip, and the beard is scanty in most tribes. The nose is broad at the base, and the nostrils wide, the breadth of nose being thought by some ethnologists to be dependent on hot, humid atmospherical conditions. The nasal index is the great point that differentiates Negroes from other types. There is a well-developed palate and marked prognathism. The predominant colour is not the black so commonly ascribed, but rather a chocolate colour, which in cold weather becomes a greenish black. The brown colour, which is often very light in children, tends to deepen with advancing age. Such is the typical West African Negro, of whom the pagan tribes south of the Benue are the most noteworthy examples in the Northern Provinces.

Hamite or Caucasian. In marked contrast to the Negro

is the Hamitic element, whose purest representatives are the nomad Fulani. Their colour varies from a light to a reddish brown ; their physique is slender and sinewy, and sometimes even effeminate ; the face oval, the lips thin, the head dolichocephalic, the forehead rather receding towards the temple, the nose straight or even aquiline, and often slightly rounded at the tip. There is little or no prognathism, the hair is ringletty and often straight, and never of the Negro peppercorn type. On his chin a man wears a scraggy tuft of beard. The eyes are almond-shaped and overhung by long black silken lashes. The beauty of countenance and graceful carriage of Fulani women are well known. In character the Fula is distrustful and shy, shrewd and artful. No African native can equal him for dissimulation and finesse. Such is the typical western Hamite. I avoid the word 'Libyan' as being at this stage a question-begging term, and Semito-Hamite as being ultra-speculative.

Semite and Semito-Negroid. The third racial type is that of the Semitic Arab. Pure-blooded Arabs are frequently to be seen as traders in Nigeria. In dealing with Nigerian racial types no account need be taken of these. But there are tribes of Arab origin, like the Shuwa of Bornu, and the Tripolitan Arabs, settled in Kano and elsewhere, of whom notice should be taken, as they are rapidly evolving a Semito-Negroid type, which must, in time, tend to become distinctive as it becomes more Negroid. The Negroid Arabs of Nigeria are of medium stature, light-brown complexion, and muscular make. Their hair is straight, and there is no prognathism. The cheek-bones are often somewhat prominent, the lips well-formed and seldom tumid. They are still comparatively pure, but some of the Semitic tribes are scorned by their brethren



Fig. 5. A Nupe with non-negro blood—
Ilorin Province



Fig. 6. A Hausa girl

as being a bastard people. Thus the Tunjur are despised by the other Shuwa sub-tribes. They are Tunisian Arabs, who have no doubt a large infusion of Berber or even Negro blood.

Hamito-Negroids

Having thus disengaged the three main racial elements of the Northern Provinces into Negro, Hamite, and Semite, we may now proceed to consider the variety of types which the intermixture of these three elements has evolved. The modifications produced by conquest, intermarriage, emigration, and economic penetration are so varied that the ethnological problem in Nigeria is probably more complex than anywhere else in the world. Let us consider first the most widely distributed people of the Northern Provinces—the Hausa.

The Hausa. The term Hausa, like that of Bantu, is primarily linguistic, and also to a considerable extent religious and cultural, but historically and physically the Hausa are not a race at all. They have no racial history, and they are in fact a hotch-potch of peoples of various origins, speaking a Hamitoid language, and recruited indiscriminately from Negroid and Negro tribes. They are a nation in the making. There is nevertheless a basic distinguishing element in the Negroid Hausa. The typical Hausa is very black, like most of the central Sudanese; he is essentially long-headed, and the skull frequently has a pentagonal appearance; he is markedly less prognathous, less platyrrhine, and less muscular than the West Coast Negro, but is taller, having great length of leg. Owing to his social and trading instincts the Hausa have mixed more freely with the surrounding tribes than any other section of the community, and the variations in type are conse-

quently greater among these people than are found in any other African tribe. Some of these Negroes are more Hamite than Negro, but the Negro element is generally predominant in varying degrees. In character he is much franker and less suspicious than the Fula ; is more cheerful and has a keener sense of humour than the Yoruba. The difference between the influence of the Hausa and the Fulani has been described as that between social and political power.

The Settled Fulani. Whereas the nomad Fulani tribes, such as the Abore, have preserved to a marked degree the purity of the Hamitic stock, the settled Fulani are daily becoming more and more Negroid. "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit." By free intermarriage and wholesale concubinage with the races whom they have conquered, the settled Fulani are fast being absorbed by the Negro. Their noses are broadening, their lips are thickening, their hair is curling, their build is coarsening, and the prognathous mouth of the Negro is beginning to appear. While they have profoundly modified the Negro type of those with whom they have settled, this modification must, in the absence of fresh infusions of Fulani blood, tend rapidly to disappear. Significant of the Negroidising of the settled Fulani is the fact that they do not intermarry with the nomad pagan Fulani.

Among the Hamitic Negroes may also be included the Kanembu tribes of Bornu, who appear to have some connection with the Libyan branch of the Mediterranean race.

The Nupe and Yoruba. Among no race has the non-Negro admixture exercised a more pronounced physical influence than upon the Nupe, who live on the banks of the Niger. The aboriginal Nupe tribes are more Negro

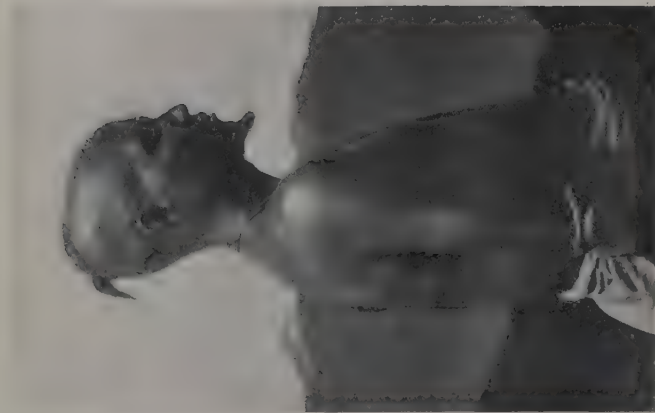


Fig. 7. A Jukun— Muri Province



Fig. 8. A Nupe Fulani—Nupe Province



Fig. 9. A Tripolitan Arab—Kano Province



Fig. 10. A Vom warrior—
Bauchi Province



Fig. 11. Two Berom men—
Bauchi Province

than Negroid, but where these have mixed with the Fulani a very striking type has been evolved. The face is oval, the cheek-bones are often high, the eyes are of almond shape, or even slightly Mongoloid. Indeed, so striking is the Mongoloid appearance of the eyes that one is tempted to believe that there has been some other than Hamitic influence at work. It is noteworthy that French ethnologists have in the Western Sudan frequently noted traces of what appears to be Mongolian admixture, and to account for it have postulated Mongolian leadership of invading tribes from the east during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is possible, but we must also remember that there is a growing opinion among ethnologists that Central Africa was the cradle of mankind. The Mongoloid appearance is to be found also among the Jukun, who wear at the back of the head a little pigtail ; and among some Plateau tribes I have occasionally seen individuals who, but for their colour, might be taken for Chinamen. Many Nupe have, however, the appearance of ancient Egyptians. The Yoruba is easily distinguished by his slender build, and it is evident that in this tribe also there is an Hamitic, or at any rate, a non-Negro element.

Sudanese Negroes. The greatest diversity in physical features appears among the tribes of the Benue valley. One can see in a single day pygmy brachycephalic Bantu-speaking Bafum from the Cameroons, side by side with giant dolichocephalic Sudanese Jen ; short, thick-set, cicatrized Munshi standing by massive-framed Jukun, who are devoid of all tribal marks. The low-statured Vere and brutish-looking Mumuye with receding forehead are a striking contrast to the strongly built and less prognathous Bachama, among whom Caucasian influence can be easily seen, especially in their women-folk. Among the tribes

of the central belt one notes the tattooed semi-Bantu speaking Zul, wearing huge disks in their lips and ears ; the Longuda, Jarawa, and Plateau tribes, who wear the penis-sheath ; the light-skinned Kamuku and Koro, and the short, thick-set Dakakari. The Mama, Mada, Yergum, and Montoil of the central belt are said to bear a striking resemblance to the Zulu of South Africa. Steatopygy is most marked among the women of the semi-Bantu belt.

In Bornu the Hamitic Kanembu—tall, slim, with thin lips and aquiline nose—presents a striking contrast to his more negro neighbour the squat Kanuri, who reddens his teeth with tobacco-juice. In Bornu also one comes across colonies of immigrant Bagirmi, whose excessively black colour and great length of limb proclaim their Nilotic origin. Further south we find the burly coarse-featured Gwari ; and on the banks of the Niger there are the tall black Kakanda, whose aquatic pursuits have conferred on them great muscular development and breadth of chest.

From this short description it will be seen that no apology need be offered for the absence from this sketch of tables of physical measurements. Negroes can be most satisfactorily classified (*a*) by skull index, and (*b*) by bodily proportions, *i.e.* length of limb relative to trunk, and so on. . But in order to arrive at satisfactory results a considerable series of measurements would be required from each tribe, and this work would demand the whole time of an officer for at least a year. A few measurements only have been made. Those for the Munshi would seem to indicate that this tribe is clearly brachycephalic. Dr. Keith has examined a number of Nigerian skulls, but his general conclusion of " free immigration " must be taken as a confession of failure. Under the circumstances the most satisfactory classification we can at present offer is

that based on language. We shall have more to say on this subject later, but in the meantime we may note the following provisional divisions.

I. SUDANIC.

A. West Division.

- (1) Kwa or lower Niger group: Yoruba and its dialects Aworo, Bunu, Owe, Yagba, etc., Igala (Igara).
- (2) Nupe group: Basa (Benue), Ebe, Ganagana, Gupa, Gwari, Igbira, Jen, Jukun, Kakanda, Kona, Nupe, Wurbo, and some of the Koro sub-tribes.
- (3) Mandingo group: Busa, Kenga and Shenga.

B. Middle Zone.

- (1) Nigerian Semi-Bantu group: Afo, Afudu, Arago, Basa (Kaduna), Borom, Dakakari, Dukawa, Gungawa, Gurmana, Jaba, Kamberi, Kamuku, Koro, Kurama, Munshi, Yergum, Yeskwa and Zumper. The following may also belong to this group: Berom, Butawa, Dingi, Chawai, Ganawuri, Guruntumawa, Irigwe (Aregwe), Hill Jarawa, Kadara, Kagoro, Kaibi, Kaje, Kaleri, Katab, Kentu, Kibalo, Kinuku, Kitimi, Kudawa, Kuturmi, Mada, Mama, Moroa, Ngwoi, Ningi, Ninzam, Nungu, Pai, Paiem, Piti, Pongo, Rebinawa, Riban, Rukuba, Rumaia, Ruruma, Seiyawa, Srubu, Zul.
- (2) Adamawa group: Chamba, Kugama, Vere.
- (3) Volta: Borgu, Laruawa, Lopawa.

C. Central Division.

- (1) Kanuri group: Kanuri.

(2) Benue-Chad group :

(a) Auyokawa, Bolewa, Babur, Bura, Denawa, Galambe, Gerawa, Gerumawa, Gongola, Hina, Hona, Jera, Kanakuru, Keri-Keri, Longuda, Malabu, Margi, Ngamo, Ngizim, Sirawa, Tera, Warji.

(a ii) Angas, Ankwe, Baron, Hausa, Miriam, Montoil, Sura, Tal.

(b) Bachama, Bata, Mumbake, Mumuye,

(c) Awok, Bangunji, Dadiya, Gurkawa, Kamu, Tangale, Tula, Waja, Wurkum.

(3) Central group : Gamergu.

(4) Eastern group : Buduma.

2. BANTU. Bankalawa, Bobar, Bomberawa, Jarawa, and Mbula.

3. SEMITIC. Shuwa (Arabic).

4. UNCLASSIFIED. Fulani, Zaberma-Dendi.

The classification given above is not exhaustive, as a large number of tribes—owing to absence of linguistic data—have not been included. It will be noted that Hausa, the *lingua franca* of Northern Nigeria has, in spite of its marked Hamitic characteristics, been provisionally included in one of the Central Sudanic groups. Tables showing the numerical strength of the tribes are given in Part II. (p. 176 ff.).

Types of Villages and Houses

The larger towns are usually protected by circular walls of sun-dried bricks plastered over with mud and surrounded by a moat. The wall of Kano city is 30 feet high, 20 feet broad at the base, and has a circumference of some

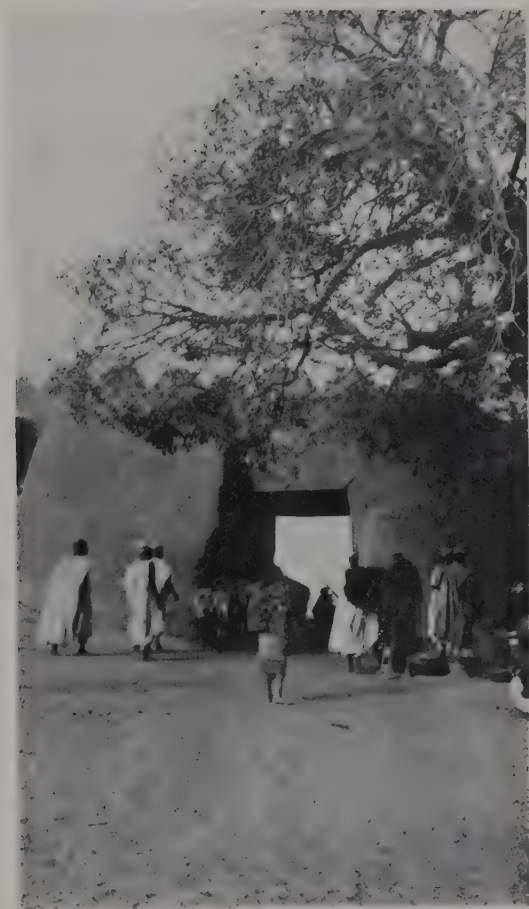


Fig. 12. One of the gates of Kano City



Fig. 13. A Jen compound—Muri Province



Fig. 14. A mosque at Kano

twelve miles. It is dotted at intervals all the way round by turrets, with slits through which arrows and shot could be discharged. The gateways are of the re-entrant design, so that an advancing enemy could be attacked on the flanks. The doors, of palm wood, are closed every night by an official (*sarkin kofa*) who makes a daily report to the Emir. The duty of repairing the walls devolved upon the various villages of the parent town. The introduction of walled towns is traditionally ascribed to the founders of the Hausa States.

Among the pagan tribes the approaches to villages are often blocked with walls of stone, the villages themselves being situated on the tops of hills or in forest clearings. The forest sites are generally unhealthy, and the hill sites are uneconomic, as a great deal of labour is daily expended in the transport of water and supplies. Pagan villages are further protected by hedges of cactus, which also serve as boundary marks for compounds and farms, or shade the village paths from the glare of the sun. The fisher peoples frequently build their villages on the tops of piles on the river bank, or live on islands in houses supported by clay or stone pillars (Borgu). Among the Shuwa the houses are constructed in a circle round an open space, which generally contains a large *zariba* or cattle kraal.

Owing to the abolition of war conditions there is now a general tendency among the agricultural communities to abandon the walled towns and live in straggling hamlets close to the farms. This tendency is having a disintegrating effect on the political and social organization of the groups.

The *compound* consists of the cluster of huts used by a whole family for sleeping, cooking, storing, and protecting stock at night. The peripheral huts are connected

by walls of mud or stone, and there is usually only one entrance to the compound—through the *zaure* or entrance-hut which is the common meeting-ground for the family during the day. The corn-bins, usually made of indurated clay, are set up here and there all over the compound.

We may now turn our attention in some detail to the different types of huts—a subject of considerable interest from the ethnological point of view.

The main types found are as follows :

- (a) The shelter—a temporary dwelling.
- (b) The all-grass hut.
- (c) The circular hut, with mud substructure and grass roof.
- (d) The circular mud hut, with mud roof, flat or domed.
- (e) The rectangular hut, with thatched pyramid roof.
- (f) The square or oblong house, with flat mud roof.

(a) The temporary shelter, generally of the beehive shape, is that commonly used by the nomad Fulani. It consists of a framework of sticks bent in towards the summit, and the whole is covered over loosely with grass. To make the holes in the ground the Fulani use an iron-tipped digging stick. Other shelters are those used by farmers as a protection from sun and rain. These consist of a thatched roof raised on poles, or on circles of stones, the type commonly seen among the Angas.

(b) By the "all-grass" hut we may understand a hut in which no mud is employed. This type is most frequently seen in the drier regions of the north as a permanent, and further south as a semi-permanent dwelling. In the Gumel district of Kano, for example, where the

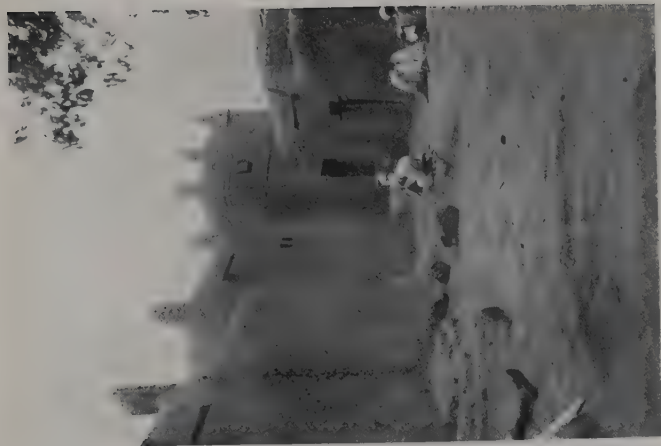


Fig. 16. A corner of Zaria

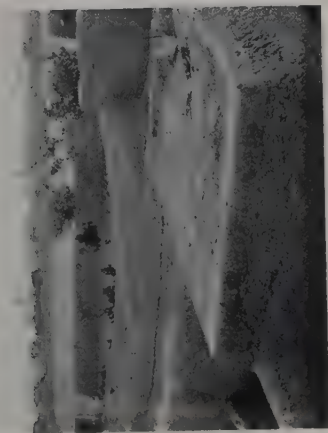


Fig. 15. A view of Kano



Fig. 17. An Angas compound—Bauchi Province

friable nature of the soil renders the work of building a mud house difficult, the usual dwelling-house is a hut made of a framework of guinea-corn sticks and covered over with matting. This type is prevalent also among the Keri-Keri, Bede, and Ngizim of Bornu; and among the Hausa, when the framework is coated over with mud, the house is known as a *darne*. Among the Kanembu two layers of grass are used, between which stands the wooden framework. The interior layer is composed of concentric layers of grass bound together with string. The Buduma principal hut is built of stout reeds, and has a doorway about two feet high. The sleeping huts are only about eighteen inches high, and about four or five feet wide. They are of the beehive pattern, and a gown is often thrown over them to keep out mosquitoes. The Margi, Lala, and Mumuye also live in beehive huts of grass. Long sticks are set in the ground in a circle and bent over towards the centre at the top. This framework is reinforced with guinea-corn sticks and withies, and is then covered over with *zana* mats, *i.e.* mats of coarse thick grass roughly interlaced; layers of thatched grass being laid on the roof (Margi). The doorway is about one foot above the ground.

(c) and (d) The circular mud hut with thatched conical roof is the prevailing type of dwelling throughout the Sudan. It is not commonly found among the Yoruba and allied peoples, and is unusual also among the Igbira, but elsewhere in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria it appears, with the qualifications noted under section (a) and (b) in a variety of forms among all the remaining tribes. The substructure may be built simply of layers of mud, or with bricks of baked mud plastered with soft mud. The mud is commonly strengthened by having grass mixed in it.

Occasionally the mud is plastered over a framework of wood. The rafters may be of bamboo, or palm-branches, or even of guinea-corn stalks. The Munshi line the roof with guinea-corn stalks, and these give the appearance of match-boarding. The outer thatch of a Munshi house is peculiar, as the grass is not tightly bound down but left hanging in loose bundles, giving the whole a ragged appearance. Other tribes—notably the Jen—render the roof doubly watertight by the addition of an outer covering of matting woven into highly ornamentive designs. One of the most peculiar roofs to be seen is that of a Jaba¹ house. Its conical peak slopes at an angle of 45° something like the following sketch :

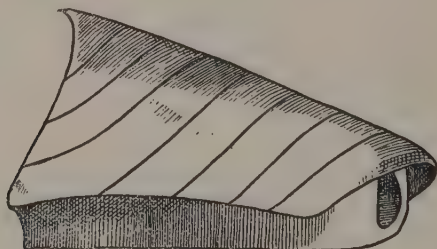


Fig. 18. Sketch of Jaba hut—Nasarawa Province

The whole of the hut, including the roof, may be made of mud—the roof being domed or flat, with or without a protective covering of thatch. In Kano the houses are not usually thatched, as the rainfall is not sufficiently great to interfere with the mud roofs. The pagan tribes, however, who build mud-roofed houses (*e.g.* the Irigwe) generally cover the roof with thatch. A main advantage of a mud-roofed house is that it is fire-proof, and for this reason the Gwari use the mud roof for their kitchens only.

¹ The huts of the Kagoro, Kaje, Katab, Ikulu and Moroa are of similar design.

Three other varieties of design call for special attention.

They are :

- (1) The double storeyed hut.
- (2) The bi-cylindrical hut.
- (3) The hut with an oval rather than a circular ground plan.

The double-storeyed hut is found among the Borom, Berom, Ganawuri, Kadara, Mama, Dimmuk, Bwol, Kwolla, etc. The second storey is used either as a store or as a sleeping-room, and is approached generally from outside by means of a ladder, the ladder being a branch of a tree with notches made for the feet. Lander noted that the chiefs of Yauri lived in double-storeyed houses.

The bi-cylindrical hut has a central cylinder which is used as a granary. The cylinder may be carried up to the apex of the thatched roof, and be approached from outside, or it may stop short, and be approached from the inside via the second storey. As a rule, the space between the cylindrical corn-bin and the outer walls is used as a sleeping compartment (Anaguta). Where the bin is approached from the outside it is fitted with a mud lid. This lid is protected by a cap of thatch, which is often carried off by the wind. The Mada, Berom, Sura, Angas, Jen, Nungu, Mama and Ninzam, are some of the tribes which use the bi-cylindrical type of hut.

The hut with oval ground-plan is found among many of the northern tribes of Nasarawa. The granary is inside the hut.

Before leaving the cylindrical hut we may note one or two other peculiarities. The hut used by the Gwari for cooking their food is distinguished by the circular smoke-hole, about a foot in diameter, which is left in the centre

of the mud roof. There is an umbrella-like thatched covering for this hole. It is mounted on a stick which comes down into the room, and the cap can, by this means, be tilted up so as to allow the smoke to escape.

Among some tribes (*e.g.* the Anaguta) the sleeping hut is approached through three or four other huts which open into each other. My Naraguta informant stated that the object of these "approach" huts was to prevent concubitants from sudden surprise by an angry husband, but their primary use was no doubt to allow inhabitants time to escape in case of attack by an enemy.

(*e*) The rectangular hut with pyramid roof is the characteristic dwelling of the Yoruba. It opens into a quadrangular courtyard, and is frequently surrounded by a verandah. The house may have ten to fifteen compartments. A noteworthy feature is the high gabled house of the chief. The gables are weather-boarded and thatched with grass. They are known as *kabbi*—which may indicate a connection with Kebbi. Among the Igbede—a Yoruba sub-tribe—I visited a temple, the design of which resembled the Roman house in that it had a *compluvium* and *impluvium*. Apart from the Yoruba tribes the rectangular house is commonly used also by the Igbira and Fuka Kadara, and it is stated that the Tikar also employed this type of house in former times.

(*f*) We come finally to the square or oblong flat-roofed houses which are characteristic of the Muslim cities of the north. The walls are thick, and the beams of the roof are usually made from the ant-proof trunks of the fan-palm. The roofs are commonly arched inside, the arches being made of pillars of mud, frequently reinforced by logs of palm. The arched houses, which are often 30 or 40 feet high, are known as *dauren guga* or bucket-

shaped, owing to the resemblance of the roof to the bucket used in drawing water from a well. The houses have ornamented façades, as will be seen from the photographs.

With regard to house furniture the richer Muslims use beds made of palm-branches, or bamboo, but the ordinary bed is a mat laid on the floor. The Munshi use beds made of bamboo ; or the bed may be simply a plank, which soon attains a high polish from the oily body of the occupant. Beds of dried mud are common among many of the pagan tribes (*e.g.* Bachama, Basange, Dukawa, Jen, and Jukun). The beds are about a foot or a foot and a half high, and are hollow underneath to permit of a fire being lighted on a cold evening. Chairs are not commonly used, but the Munshi use chairs with sloping backs, made out of solid logs of wood.

Clothing and Ornaments

So varied are the modes of dress among the tribes that a few general remarks can only be offered here. We find in the Northern Provinces people at every stage of what we might call "the dress complex." There is the condition (1) of absolute nakedness ; (2) of the use of natural clothing, such as skins or plaited grass ; and (3) of manufactured clothing, which is often of a gaudy and highly fashionable character. These divisions are not always hard and fast. A man who is accustomed to appear in public in Nature's garb alone may on occasion array himself in a Hausa gown ; the Jarawa women of Das are abandoning their leaves for cloth coverings ; the Teria, Zeranda, and Zul still wear the penis-sheath, but conceal the fact with a leather loin covering ; many women of the Longuda tribe refuse any longer to insert the wooden

hour-glass disk in the lower lip ; and the Tula are in a state of transition from the loin covering of skin to that of cloth. One sex, moreover, may be in one of the three conditions mentioned above, while the opposite sex may be in some other condition. The men of Pongo, for example, use natural and sometimes manufactured clothing, but they refuse to allow their women to affect any kind of clothing at all, on the ground (so a Pongo man told me) that if the women wore clothes they would become beautiful and be desired by men of foreign villages—which reminds one of the Penguins in Anatole France's novel. The first gown introduced among the Waja was worn to shreds, owing to its being constantly used by young men in their quest for wives !

The condition of absolute nakedness is found among a certain number of the Animistic tribes. Tangale, Longuda, Borok, and Pongo males, for example, are usually seen in a state of complete nudity, and so also are Keri-Keri, Koro, and Ngizim women. Unmarried girls of most pagan tribes wear only ornamental clothing. The Kagoro maid, for instance, is quite naked except for a girdle of string round the waist—one of the loose ends of the string being passed between the legs and fastened to the girdle at the back. The Ganawuri women wear nothing but a series of metal rings, which hang between the legs suspended from a leather string tied round the waist. This custom, which is shown in Fig. 24, appears to be unique. After giving birth three of the rings are detached. On festal occasions the Ganawuri women fasten to the buttocks oblong bells which clank at every step. The Irigwe women are also peculiar for the wooden plugs they wear between the legs. (See Fig. 67.)



(a)



(b)

Fig. 19. A Zul woman—Bauchi Province



Fig. 20. A Jukun—Muri Province



Fig. 21. Berom youth and girl—
Bauchi Province

The penis-sheath is worn among the following tribes : Berom, Burum, Ganawuri, Jarawa, Katab, Mada, Mama, Ninzam, Nungu, Pakara, Rukuba, Teria, Zeranda, and Zul. Some of these tribes do not practise circumcision (*e.g.* Ganawuri), but others do, so that we cannot connect the use of the penis-sheath with the non-circumcising peoples. The sheath is, among the Plateau tribes, made of woven grass, and is kept in position by being damped at the edge and given a slight twist after it has been put on. Men of importance are distinguished by the elaborate character of their penis-sheaths. Among the Nasarawa tribes (*i.e.* Mama, Mada, Ninzam, and Nungu) the sheath is of the South African type, *viz.*, the calabash. All the tribes who wear the sheath belong linguistically to the semi-Bantu group. M. Delafosse has noted that in the French Sudan those who wear the penis-sheath belong to the Volta family.

The great majority of the Animistic tribes wear natural clothing. Aprons of goatskins are commonly used by men (Ba, Sura, Angas, Pe, Seiyawa, Nungu, Ninzam, etc.). In these knives and pipes are sometimes stuck. The leather apron has usually a tail which can be passed between the legs and caught up behind. Occasionally a loin-cloth is used in conjunction with the leather apron (Pe). On special occasions a goatskin or sheepskin with all the hair attached is thrown over the shoulders ; and among some tribes (*e.g.* the Bachama) kilts of reed-grass are worn at festivals. The women of the primitive tribes, if they are not totally unclothed, wear aprons of leaves (or of fibre strings) or loin-cloths. The Angas, Yergum, Bachama, Jarawa, Anaguta, and Longuda females, for example, wear a bunch of leaves behind until they arrive at marriageable age, when they add a bunch in front also. The leaves

(branches and all) are suspended on strings of fibre. Among the Sura these strings are fastened before and behind to a circular ball made of grass and bound round with string. The branches holding the leaves are often plaited at the top and dyed red (Jarawa). The women of the Jaba and other Nasarawa tribes are distinguished by their use of "tails"—flat plaited trays with protruding centre-pieces. The Pe and Nungu women commonly wear kilts of loose string, often smeared with red earth and oil. The Ba women combine the use of leaves with leather, wearing a bunch of leaves behind and a leather sporran in front. Other tribes, again, appear to be in a transition stage between natural and manufactured clothing. Irigwe women, for example, wear a strip of cloth round the waist, and a bunch of leaves behind. The use of cloth must soon become general.

Many of the tribes cannot recall a time when they did not affect manufactured clothes. The Bolewa, for example, say they have always worn gowns, and the Jukun, who have a characteristic method of wearing a cloth tucked in at the waist and extending to the feet, make a similar claim. The Jen wear loin-cloths for both sexes, and some Keri-Keri and Ngizim women wear cloth aprons, short in front and long (and often embroidered) at the back.

Among the Muslim tribes the men wear close-fitting shirts and white trousers, which may be baggy and are often richly embroidered with red and green silk. Over these the well-dressed man wears a gown, and on his head a white or dark indigo-blue turban. Any one who wishes to look important may wear two or more gowns. When the Ata of Ida met Dr. Oldfield in 1832 he was dressed in three gowns. The Muslim woman wears a loin-cloth, and



Fig. 22. A group of Nupe—Nupe Province



Fig. 23. Jarawa women —
Bauchi Province



Fig. 24. A Ganawuri girl—
Bauchi Province



Fig. 25. A Jarawa woman and Berom
girl—Bauchi Province

covers herself over with a wrapping of blue or white cotton cloth which descends to the ankles.

Muslims commonly wear brightly coloured straw hats. Some of the pagan tribes also use straw headgear for work in the fields. The northern Mada wear a three-cornered brim-hat, while the Nungu and Ninzam hat is a hemispherical calabash. Bede mothers protect the heads of their children from sun and rain with calabash coverings.¹ The hat of the Waja is the straw plaited strainer used in preparing beer. Most tribes protect themselves from rain with a triangular covering made of plaited palm-leaves, which fits over the head and descends down the back.

A few remarks remain to be made on the subject of personal adornments. We find in Nigeria most of the customs common among primitive peoples, such as the use of ear, nose, and lip plugs, and the chipping and dyeing of teeth.

Ear ornaments are of great variety. A characteristic of the ancient Jukun was the huge metal rings worn in the ear. Ear-plugs, of guinea-corn stalk or wisps of grass, are common female adornments (Angas, Irigwe, Berom, Borok, Pe, Pero, Yergum, Zul, etc.). Disks of guinea-corn stalk, grass straws, or porcupine quills are also inserted in the lips by such tribes as the Anaguta, Angas, Borok, Kushi, Longuda, Nungu, Pe, Vere, and Zul. Among the Zul the guinea-corn disks are so huge that speech becomes difficult (see Fig. 19). The plugs are cut level with the skin, the edge being whitened with chalk. The holes for their reception are made with thorns when the girls are a few years old. They are gradually enlarged, first by wisps of grass and then by thin plugs of millet stalk. The size of the plugs is continually increased, until they reach as much as an inch in diameter. The

¹ This custom is also found among the Ngizim, Babur and Bura.

Zul men wear similar disks in the ear, but the use of lip-plugs is confined to the women.

The septum of the nose is pierced by Berom, Bolewa, Dadiya, Keri-Keri, Longuda, Ngizim, Rukuba, and Tangale women, and by Kamberi, Mada, Mama, Ninzam, and Nungu men and women. Wisps of grass and porcupine quills are inserted. Berom and Rukuba women insert metal rings, and the Kamberi pieces of blue glass.

The chipping of teeth is another common practice among such tribes as the Awok, Bata, Basa, Borok, Dadiya, Kushi, Mumuye, Tangale, Tula, Vere, Yergum, Yungur, and Yoruba. The chipping is generally done by a blacksmith with a piece of iron, and the teeth are often filed to a point. The staining of the teeth with henna, and of the eyebrows and eyelids with sulphide of lead, is common among both the Muslim and Animistic tribes.

There are many modes of doing the hair as will be seen from the illustrations, and we need only mention here the short pigtail worn by the Jukun at the back of the head.

With regard to the wearing of other ornaments we may note the extensive use of bracelets, armlets, and leglets. Metal bracelets are the most common, but we sometimes find them, as among the Yergum, made of hippopotamus hide. Anklets of fan-palm leaves are popular among the Bauchi tribes, as is also the use of iron greaves on the forearm (Rukuba) or over the shins (Berom). These greaves have spurs attached, and one cannot help thinking that they may have been introduced from ancient Rome.

Tribal Marks

Most of the Nigerian tribes scarify their faces, and sometimes their bodies, with marks to distinguish their members from those of other tribes. This was a necessary

precaution in the days of slavery to prevent loss of identity. Some of the more powerful tribes, however, now scorn the custom as being in itself the hall-mark of slavery, and to this day pure-bred Fulani and Jukun have no tribal marks at all. The Ganawuri, Sura, and hill Angas have no facial marks. Again, groups of tribes who have left their own country—*e.g.* the Zabermawa of the Kware district of Sokoto—frequently abandon the ancestral markings. In French Sudan several of the Mandingo tribes, and some also of the Lobi and Mosi groups of tribes, are devoid of tribal marks, *e.g.* Bozo (Man.), Birifo (Mosi), Malinke (Man.), Foulanke (Man.), Lobi, and Puguli (Lobi group).

It might be assumed that similarity of tribal marks would be an indication of inter-tribal relationship, but as tribal marks are now—and were even in pre-European days—commonly regarded as adornments, their original significance as tribal badges has been to a great extent blurred, if not entirely lost. One tribe will adopt the markings of its neighbours as being more decorative than its own, and individual members of tribes commonly affect any set of marks which happens to take their fancy. Children, therefore, frequently bear totally different marks from their parents ; and in a single tribe we may find two or more sets of markings, any of which may be regarded as the tribal badge. Slaves, moreover, were frequently given the marks of their masters. Religious ideas also exert a modifying influence on the system of scarification. Thus the alternated triple lines at the corner of the mouth, such as are used by the Nupe of Bida, by the younger generation of Kakanda, and by many other Islamised tribes of Ilorin, Nupe, Nasarawa, and Munshi provinces, are said to be an indication that the parents of children so marked were Muhammadan.

When Rabeh conquered Bornu he marked all his captives with these three transverse cuts, which are known in the *lingua franca* as the *Yan baki* (children of the mouth). Again, if a mother loses a large number of children in succession she would vary the usual tribal markings on her subsequent children, with the intention, no doubt, of rendering them unrecognizable to the spirit that had robbed her of her previous sons and daughters. We note the same idea among the Hausa-speaking people, among whom it is customary for bereaved mothers to shave half the head of their remaining children. Marks may be added for purely decorative purposes, or as a magical prevention of a variety of ills.

From the foregoing remarks it will be understood that any ethnological conclusions based on similarity of tribal markings would, in the absence of a much closer investigation than has been given to the subject, be misleading. We may note, however, one or two distinctive marks characterizing groups of tribes which, for independent reasons, we believe to be connected.

The single cross-cut to the bridge of the nose, as shown in the diagram and known as the *bille* is with various modifications found among the Nupe, Kupa, Kakanda, Igbira, Arago, Afo, Agatu, and some Yoruba tribes, such as the Aworo and Yagba. We find it also among the Hausa Gobirawa and Katsinawa, the Ariwa, and occasionally among the Gwari, the Dakakari, and the peoples of Borgu.



The characteristic marking of the Beri-beri peoples is a single vertical line down the forehead. The Tera, Bede, Gade, Dakakari, Kamberi, Beri-Beri, and some of the Bauchi Plateau tribes (*e.g.* Sangawa), and some Jukun,



Fig. 26. A man of the Jarawa—Bauchi Province



Fig. 27. A Munshi—Munshi Province

also display a similar marking of the forehead. It is worth noting that this marking is also commonly found among the Songhai of the Western Sudan as well as among some of the Mosi tribes.

The tribal marks of the Kagoro, Moroa, Ataka, Katab, and Kaje are practically identical, being fourteen or fifteen vertical lines down the cheek, and sixteen to twenty-two vertical lines on the forehead. The space between the eye and ear is marked by two parallel lines of short vertical marks. The similarity of markings among these tribes is stated not to be due to any tribal relationship, but to the fact that two generations ago the Katab possessed a particularly skilful operator whose pattern met with universal approval.

The marks of the peoples of Gobir and Katsina, of the Ayu, Kupa, Kamuku, and Yoruba, also bear a close similarity, being curved or vertical lines from the jaw or corner of the mouth to the temple. Tradition connects all these peoples, but we find somewhat similar marks among the Gana-gana and Kakanda used in conjunction with the transverse cut to the nose. The Gwari marks closely resemble those of the Kutumbawa of Kano and of the Mosi. The Akoko, Yagba, and Bachi marks are also similar to one another.

The Munshi practise cicatrization, raising the scars by inserting a needle under the skin and slitting the raised flesh with a knife. The effects vary, they say, with the man's physical condition, the scars sometimes taking the form of prominent keloids,¹ and sometimes only of slight plain scars, which tend to disappear altogether with the approach of old age. The general method of scarifying the face is to make the incisions with a razor. The cut is

¹ See Fig. 27.

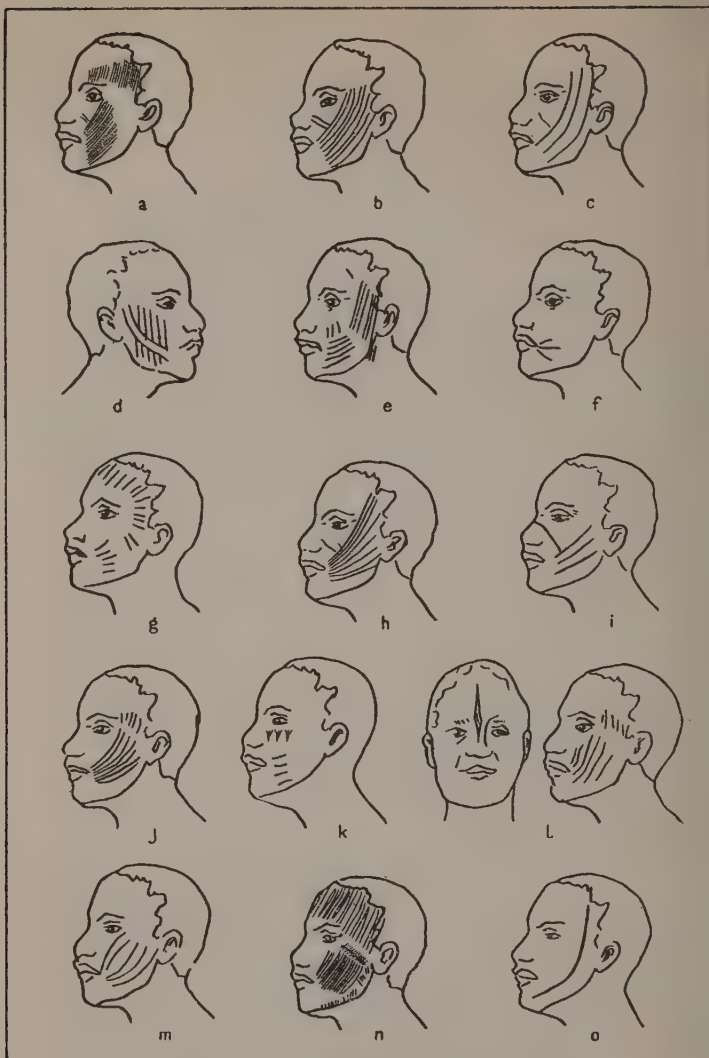


Fig. 28. Specimens of tribal markings

a. Dakakari (Zanfari are similar). *b.* Kupa—old markings. *c.* Aworo (resembling Mandingo and Mosi marks). *d.* Kutumbawa, of Kano (closely resemble the marks of the Gwari). *e.* Yoruba from Lagos. *f.* The triple mark said to be the badge of Islam. Probably of Hausa origin and adopted by many other Islamized peoples. *g.* Mama. *h.* Kakanda. *i.* Yagba. *j.* Gobir. *k.* Igala. *l.* Kanuri. *m.* Kamuku (Katsina are similar). *n.* Kagoro. *o.* Angas.

then washed and covered with a poultice of indigo, which may remain on for as much as a month. When the indigo is removed the face is smeared with grease.

Some tribes, such as the Zul, Nungu, Mama, Mada, and Ninzam, practise tatooing (*Akanza*), a blue pigment or charcoal being rubbed into the incisions.

Chiefs are frequently distinguished by special marks. The ancient kings of Nupe, for example, had six slight cuts below the mouth, and this design has now been adopted by many of the minor Nupe chiefs. The royal family of Kotonkoro are marked on the arms and abdomen with three sets of horizontal cuts. A difference is also sometimes made for sex. Among the Bede, for example, women have, in addition to the male markings, three cuts below each eye. It should also be noted that the number of marks on one cheek may be greater than those on another.

In addition to the facial marks designs are also worked on the arms, breast, and abdomen—chevrons, circular dots, elliptical punch-marks, and lozenges being the most common patterns.

Appended are a few examples of typical tribal marks, most of which were kindly given to me by Captain Norton-Traill.

III

HISTORY AND TRADITION

Prehistoric Nigeria—Archaeology—External influences—Early traditions—History of Bornu, of the Hausa States, and of the Fulani.

Prehistoric Nigeria

The Stone Age. There is a seeming absence of early palaeolithic culture in Nigeria. From the Sahara, as elsewhere in Africa (*e.g.* Somaliland and South Africa), many stone axes of the palaeolithic age have been discovered—ovate specimens, or those with a blunt butt and a blade worked down to a point. But in West Africa generally there is a remarkable absence of palaeolithic specimens. A few rough flaked types which might be referred to the Early Stone Age have, however, been found in the Northern Provinces. Such a one is the hand-axe, picked up by Captain Best on the surface near Badiko in Bauchi division, and now in the British Museum. It is a core implement of very early type, which would in Europe be referred to the palaeolithic drift period. A number of other stone implements which would also in Europe be classified as palaeoliths have been dug up on the tin-mines of the Bauchi plateau. Among these are the following, which were found in an alluvial deposit thirty feet deep on the Naraguta Mine :

- (1) A large flake struck off a prepared core of Mousterian type.
- (2) A flake implement of the same period.
- (3) A black flake implement of volcanic stone—also Mousterian.

- (4) A point of the Le Moustier pattern—apparently a two-sided scraper.
- (5) A flake, which appears to have been a double-sided scraper.
- (6) A core implement.
- (7) A steep gabled-end scraper.

Other seemingly palaeolithic types have no doubt been found, but so little is known of the African Stone Age that it is impossible to assign them to the same periods as would be given to similar types if found in Europe. It would be interesting to have an expert geological opinion on the deposit in which the Naraguta specimens were found. There is, of course, an abundance of polished celts of the Neolithic Age.

The following is a list of celts, arrow-heads, and scrapers which have been collected at Naraguta by Mr. E. A. Langslow-Cock, Chief Inspector of Mines :

A. Celts.

- (1) Basalt stone celt, 5 inches long, chipped, showing signs of very considerable weathering (from surface soil at Rafin Jaki).
- (2) Basalt celt, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, polished (from wash 10 feet in depth near Ngel, Bauchi).
- (3) Basalt stone celt, 5 inches long, slightly curved, poorly polished and badly weathered (from Ngel).
- (4) Basalt stone celt, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, polished, badly weathered (from 10 feet wash near Ngel).
- (5) Basalt chipped stone celt, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long.
- (6) Four diorite stone implements, found in a cave among the Rukuba hills.
- (7) Three diorite celts, from alluvial deposit at South Rop.
- (8) Basalt stone axe, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, chipped—the cutting edge only being polished. Badly weathered. (Ngel.)
- (9) Basalt stone axe, $3\frac{1}{16}$ inches long, chipped, with small cutting edge, polished. (Ngel.)

- (10) Basalt stone axe, $2\frac{4}{8}$ inches long, chipped, with polished cutting edge. (Ngel.)
- (11) Basalt stone axe, chipped and polished.
- (12) Volcanic rock stone axe, 2 inches long, chipped, with cutting edge polished.
- (13) Quartz stone axe, 2 inches long, ground cutting edge. (Jos.)
- (14) Volcanic stone axe, 6 inches long, chipped, surface weathered. Found at depth of 10 feet.
- (15) Sard axe-head from Rop, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

B. Scrapers.

- (1) Sard stone scraper, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, chipped (from tin-bearing wash 18 inches deep at Jos).
- (2) Quartz scraper from Rop, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.
- (3) Sard scraper from Rop, 2.65 inches long.
- (4) Sard scraper from Rop, 2.2 inches long.
- (5) Sard scraper from Rop, 3 inches long.
- (6) Sard scraper from Rop, 3.2 inches long.
- (7) Sard scraper from Rop, 2.83 inches long.

C. Arrow heads.

- (1) Sard arrow-head from Rop, 1.4 inches long.

At Kassa Mine, on the Bauchi plateau, a neolithic axe, with handle and leather binding still in position, was found at a depth of 18 feet.

Circular stones, often flat on the upper and lower sides, with smooth central holes, are also frequently being unearthed. What their function was is doubtful. They may have been used as weights for digging-sticks, as mallet-heads, or as fire-drills. Some of these stones appear to be still in use by blacksmiths as a protection for the nozzle of bellows from the fire.¹ Round pot-stones like cannon-balls are also constantly being dug up. Their shape may be the result of geological action, the stone having been caught in a groove and subjected to rotatory

¹ Other suggestions are that these ring stones may have been used as mace heads, bases for jars or the hinges of doors, or as currency—see Macmichael's *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, vol. i. p. 30.



Fig. 29. Stone implements of palaeolithic type from Naraguta—Bauchi Province

pressure. They are not always, however, found in holes, as this theory would lead one to expect. They were clearly used as hammer-stones, and may belong to any age. I have myself seen one being used by a hill Angas blacksmith for beating out iron on his concave stone anvil. Neolithic implements, it may be added, are thought by all natives to be thunderbolts, and as such are believed to be possessed of magical powers. Among the pagan tribes they are commonly used as fetishes. To the Hausa they are known as "axes from heaven."

Primitive Africa apparently passed straight from the Stone to the Iron Age. There is, at any rate, no trace of the intermediate period of Bronze. Copper was known in the Sudan in the fourteenth century, for Ibn Batuta mentions the copper-mines of Tekada as being in a flourishing condition in 1352. There is no evidence, however, that this copper was combined with zinc or tin. The brass-work which made West Africa famous was probably introduced by Arabs at a comparatively late date. It is noteworthy that the Hausa word for bronze is "red iron." Iron-smelting, on the other hand, was probably evolved by primitive African tribes without any external assistance, as smelting furnaces have been discovered at almost every stage of their evolution.

Other Archaeological Finds. Before proceeding to refer to the early historical influences it may not be out of place to mention here one or two other archaeological discoveries made on the Bauchi Plateau. An iron hoe was recently found at Jos 18 feet below the bed of the Delimi river, at the same horizon, or even lower than that in which stone implements have been found. The significance of this may not be great, as the hoe was found in alluvial deposit, and the stone implements may have been derived from

earlier deposits ; but this find may indicate the use of stone implements well into the Iron Age. Similar finds have been noted by archaeologists in French Sudan.

(a) One of the most remarkable finds frequently being made is that of tin beads. One set of these was discovered at a depth of 10 feet in the alluvial deposit at Lower Bisichi. These tin beads, which are about a quarter of an inch in length, are circular disks, flat on the upper and lower sides, with sharp right-angle edges. There is a circular central hole, so regularly formed that it looks as though it might have been punched by a modern die. In view of the fact that the working of tin by natives cannot be traced back more than one hundred years the discovery of these tin beads in a tin-bearing country is most significant, and clearly suggests the presence in former days of a people who understood the working of tin, and showed ability in fashioning it.

(b) Furthermore, from a surface deposit at Rop there was discovered a representation in tin of a coiled snake. This evidently had some religious or magical significance, and once again points to the presence of a former people who knew how to work tin, who had a developed artistic sense, and among whom the cult of the serpent was perhaps a feature of their religion.

(c) Again, there is the evidence, from finds of pottery, of the existence in the plateau country of a people whose artistic sense and mode of living were considerably in advance of the existing tribes. One of the finds was a drinking cup, unearthed at a depth of 7 feet from the surface, in blue clay and sand on the old river-bed near Ganawuri. The illustration (Fig. 30) shows that it has a delicacy of design which suggests non-Negro handiwork. There were also found in the same locality fragments of

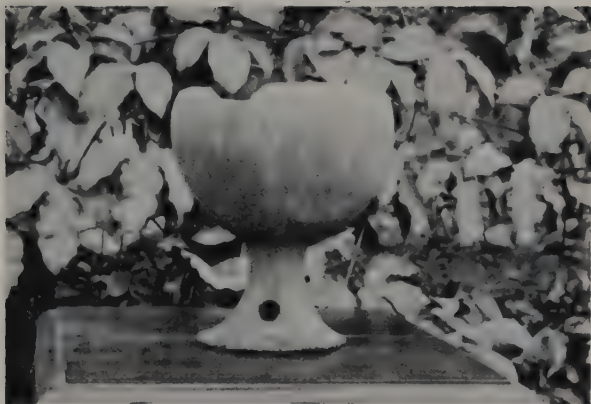


Fig. 30. Ancient drinking cup—Bauchi Province

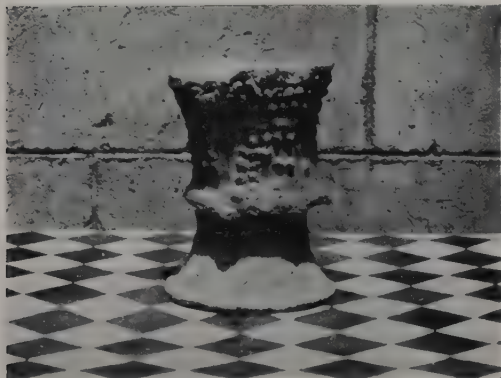


Fig. 31. Ancient Pottery—Bauchi Province



(a)



(b)

Fig. 32. Circular walls at Naraguta

another drinking vessel (see Fig. 31), which was ornamented on the surface with raised lumps of clay. This design is again in advance of Negro work. A small pot was also taken from bottom river gravels, at a depth of 18 feet from surface, at South Rop. Various other fragments of pottery have been found at a depth of 15 feet in drift.

(d) Iron bangles, some of them very heavy, have been unearthed from a depth of 14 feet in the tin-bearing wash of the Forum river. Four of these were found cemented together.

(e) Pieces of blue tubular glass have been found at varying depths. The feature of this glass is the yellow tint it displays when held to the light. They are believed by some authorities to be of Indian, by others of Phoenician origin.

Stone Circles. Series of circular stone walls exist all over the country, notably on the Bauchi Plateau. I saw a collection of these circles at Naraguta. There is nothing remarkable about the smaller circles, which are clearly the remains of huts, the builders of which used rather more stone than is commonly used by the tribes to-day. Some of the larger circles enclose a flat surface of rock. These were no doubt temporary granaries in which the corn was beaten before being permanently stored, the circular wall being erected to prevent the wind from carrying off the grain. The Angas to-day build granaries of a somewhat similar kind. Other circular or rectangular stone enclosures were no doubt used as cattle kraals. At Naraguta there is a circular enclosure at the top of a hill. Its commanding position suggests that its use was probably that of a fort into which the inhabitants of the village huts that clustered below it could be gathered.

I mention these stone circles because they are sometimes believed to be the work of a people radically different from the tribes among whom they are found. There does not seem to be any reason for this assumption. Those at Naraguta are certainly not the work of the local pagans, but they may very well have been built by Jukun invaders. It is only fair to add, however, that the Bauchi tribes of the Plateau have a tradition of "red" men (*Ankpwasang*) who long ago invaded the Plateau and scattered the present tribes among the mountains. This description would hardly apply to the very black Nilotic Jukun, but it might apply to the Jukun leaders, the remnants of whom are to this day known as *Wapang*. Possibly they should be referred to the days of Amina, princess of Zaria, who is said to have founded an empire in the middle of the sixteenth century, and to have built circular forts wherever she encamped.

At Durubi Takushaya (Katsina) there are seven large tumuli still to be seen, which are said to mark the graves of the earliest known kings of Katsina. The Gwari of Fuka to this day surround their graves with circular stone walls having an upright monolith. No stone circles properly so-called—*i.e.* circles of monoliths—exist, as far as I know, in northern Nigeria.

Archaic Bridges. In the Ba-Ron district of Bauchi Province there are several rather remarkable stone bridges, built of granite slabs carefully fitted to each other, the interstices being filled with earth. They are built up from the river-bed so as to leave two, three, or more openings for the passage of the water, the arches being formed by placing a long flat stone above two upright stones. The bridges are built concave to the flow of the stream, and are carried into the bank for 20 or 30 feet on either



Fig. 33. Baron causeway

side. These bridges are good examples of dry-walling. The one at Batura is 50 yards long, 5 feet wide, and 10 feet deep. They are of great strength, and must have stood for many generations. The arches, however, are too small to allow of the passage of much water. The illustration (Fig. 33), from a photograph taken by Captain Best, shows some of the masonry.

The Ron natives of the district profess ignorance as to the origin of these bridges, which, they say, were found in existence when they came to the country four generations ago.

Walls of Surami. At Surami, in Sokoto Province, the town is encircled by seven stone walls, built, it is said, by Kanta, founder of the kingdom of Kebbi,¹ which are still wonderfully preserved after the lapse of four hundred years. These walls are ten miles in circumference, and are built of stone, the interstices being filled up with laterite gravel and red mud, which had evidently been brought from a distance. Mr. Daniel reports that the walls show regular courses of masonry to a height of 20 feet. At one point in the wall there is a gap which had been filled in with solid masonry 30 feet high, and is still in a remarkable state of preservation. It is said that persons doomed to death were flung down from this wall, and probably strangled with a rope fixed round their necks. The Surami walls may be the work of the same people who built the famous walls of Lobi in French territory² and of those who built the bridges of the Ba-Ron district.

Dr. Bronnum has told me that between Goila and Song there are two remarkable parallel formations of stone

¹ See pp. 67, 80, 92.

² See Delafosse, vol. ii. p. 9.

boulders, some of them immense, which he felt convinced were the work of human hands—the remains of two sides of a fort, or possibly the portal of a town. The natives believe that there was a town there once. I have had no opportunity of visiting the locality, but an investigation of the site might lead to important results. It is a curious coincidence that Ibn Said placed the site of the ancient city of Ghana in this locality.

The Tumuni Relics. A number of ancient bronze and silver relics were recently discovered near Surami (in the province of Sokoto) in the remains of a house or tomb two feet below the surface sand. The principal articles were a hammered copper vessel, a copper bucket, a barrel-shaped armlet, three penannular armlets and various other objects. The workmanship is unlike that of the African Negro and seems to point to a Mediterranean influence of a remote period—possibly of the early Bronze Age. It would appear probable that Tumuni was the site of the tombs of the kings of Kebbi and that the articles found were part of the property buried with the king.

External Influences

Early External Influences. Nigerian history does not begin until the eleventh century A.D. Prior to this time nothing definite is known as to the ethnic composition of the tribes inhabiting the Northern Provinces—if these provinces were inhabited at all. The Jukun, who claim to be the earliest inhabitants of Bornu, say that when they first entered Bornu they found no other inhabitants there. Against this we must remember that objects dug up in the Yoruba country by Frobenius have been dated by Egyptologists as belonging to the sixth century B.C. It does not of course follow that the Yoruba were in the



Fig. 34. Ganawuri women—Bauchi Province

country at that time, but intercourse with Egypt suggests that the intervening area probably had a certain number of inhabitants, as travellers to the West Coast must have depended to some extent on local supplies. Although it is not possible to form an estimate of the extent to which foreign culture had penetrated to this secluded land, we must nevertheless consider briefly the channels by which the culture and ethnology of Nigeria might have been influenced.

The Phoenicians, whose earliest settlements on the North African coast can be referred roughly to 1000 B.C., are stated by Herodotus to have circumnavigated Africa at the instance of Necho, King of Egypt, *c.* 600 B.C. Hanno of Carthage also explored the west coast of Africa, as far as Sherbro Island. We may say, then, that the Phoenicians probably had a vague knowledge of the Niger regions but that they ever came into direct contact with Nigerian peoples is extremely improbable. The story told by Herodotus of the young Nasamonians who journeyed across the Sahara and apparently discovered the Niger is an indication of the ignorance of the central Sudanese countries prevalent at the time. Egypt, however, may have had indirect trade relations with the central Sudan from the earliest times. Egyptian goods had penetrated to Nubia and Kordofan as early as 3000 B.C., and from what we know of the subsequent relations of Egypt and Bornu we may assume that, if there were then any tribes capable of carrying on trade, their trade was done with Egypt. There are many indications of Egyptian influence on the culture of Nigeria.

According to Sir Harry Johnston high-withered cattle, rice (via Egypt from Asia), cassava, cow-peas, and pumpkins were certainly, and the domestic fowl, maize, various

musical instruments, and improved weapons of war were probably, first introduced into the Sudan from Egypt or the Upper Nile. We shall also see later that the main streams of tribal immigration were from an easterly or north-easterly direction, and that many of the Nigerian tribal customs (such as burying in the crouched position, mummification practices, the use of the throwing-stick, the killing of the divine king, etc.), can fairly safely be attributed to cultural transmission from the Nile. Ethiopia is not so far from Lake Chad, and we know the part that the Ethiopians played in Egyptian history. Egyptians and Negroes were in contact in the middle reaches of the Nile for thousands of years, and to this day a Negro dialect is spoken as far north as Aswan. Lady Lugard quotes from Makrizi the story of an Egyptian Pharaoh who lived about 1700 B.C., and after making conquests in North Africa "marched into the countries of the Sudan and came to the country of the Dem-Dem cannibals, who marched against him entirely naked." He conquered them, and then took the road to the "Dark Sea." We must further keep in view the possibility of Persian influences having crept in as a result of the Persian conquest of Egypt. We shall see later that Belo (historian and second Sultan of Sokoto) believed the Fulani to have been of Persian origin.

The Roman occupation of North Africa, which only extended as far as Fezzan, had probably no direct effect on the trans-Saharan tribes. Fezzan was then peopled by the Garamantes who were no doubt Tibu. Roman generals apparently went into, or even across, the Sahara, on expeditions of conquest and exploration. Thus at the beginning of the Christian era Septimius Flaccus is said to have crossed the Sahara, and c. A.D. 150 Julius Maternus went south from Fezzan on a four months' journey, and

reached a land swarming with rhinoceroses. He may have reached the vicinity of Chad.

The Niger was apparently known to the Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy, who, writing in the second century, referred to it as the Νίγηρ. This may have been a local pagan name.¹ One of the islands in Lake Chad is to-day known as Ngiria.

The rise of Islam and the subsequent invasion of Egypt and North Africa by Arab armies in the seventh century was an event fraught with permanent religious, cultural, and ethnic consequences for Northern Africa and the Sudan. Ukuba was the Arab leader, and it is worth noting here that the Nigerian Fulani claim him as their progenitor. The Arabization and Islamization of North Africa was brought to a culmination in the eleventh century, when two Arab tribes, the Beni Hilal and the Beni Soleim, invaded and settled in Barbary. This led to a wide diffusion of Arab blood among the Berbers, and to the spread of the religion of Muhammad into the Western Sudan.

About this time also various other Arab tribes who had migrated from Arabia to Nubia drove out many of the Hamitic and Negro tribes who had been settled in the Nile valley. Some of these tribes were driven west and found their way into Nigeria. All the most important immigrations of the northern Nigerian tribes are traditionally referred to disturbances connected with the spread of Islam, and it was thus that civilization was transmitted to these parts.

Bornu was the gateway. But before discussing the rise of Bornu we must refer to those Negro empires of the western Sudan which played an important, though

¹ I have recently (1925) discovered that the Buduma word for "river" is Njer, or Nijer.

indirect part, in the fashioning of the northern Nigerian states. Ibn Haukal, the Arab geographer, writing in the year 930, says of the Sudanese tribes that everything they got came to them from the west, because of the difficulty of entering their country from any other quarter. This description is confirmed by El Bekri, who wrote about 140 years later. The best way of entering the Sudan was by the western route through Morocco and Tafilét. The eastern route through Kanem was at this time difficult as it passed through "a country of idolaters." Ibn Batuta states that in 1352 the people east of Melle got all their clothing from Egypt, but the route to Egypt was then probably via Tekada, Kavar and North Africa rather than Bornu and Wadai.

Ghana. The kingdom of Ghana or Kumbi is historically the most ancient state of the western Sudan, having been founded, it is said, by one Wakayamanga about 300 A.D. The earliest rulers were reputed to be white, and, if we can believe the local traditions, twenty-two had reigned before the Hijra. Thus it would appear that long before the arrival of Muhammadan Arabs some non-Negro influence had laid the political foundations on which the typical Sudanese states were built. Ghana may have been the prototype of kingdoms such as Bornu, the Hausa states, Dahomey, and Ashanti. The ancient "white" rulers of Ghana are stated by Arab historians to have been "Taurudu" from the region between the Tigris and Euphrates. They would thus have been Semites, and here we may have a clue to the ethnic puzzle of the Fulani, whose features—notably the Armenoid nose—proclaim their non-Negro origin. Here too may lie the explanation of the Semitic or pre-Semitic elements found in the Hausa language, which are too fundamental to be

ascribed solely to the influence of Islam. It may be that prior to the advent of the Almoravides in the eleventh century the supremacy of Ghana extended as far as Hausaland and Kanem (from which Bornu was founded). El Bekri notes that in Ghana the royal succession went to the son of the king's sister, and that one of the principal Ghana tribes was the Wangara or Mandingo. The ruling families of Bornu, Kano, and Ashanti reckoned their descent in the female line, and it is certain that the Wangarawa from the west played a prominent part in the early politics of Kano and Katsina, if not during the hegemony of Ghana at any rate during that of Melle. The early religion of Ghana appears to have been a mixture of Christianity and animism, and there are reasons for believing that the religion of Borgu, and no doubt of other Nigerian states, was of a similar character.

The power of Ghana waned under the attacks of the king of Sosso at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and was finally brought to an end by Sundiata Keita, the Mandingo leader, who razed the city to the ground in 1240.

Melle. The state of Songhai, with its capital at Kukia and later at Gao, had from the seventh century been second only to that of Ghana, but was temporarily eclipsed by the rise of the mighty Mandingo Empire of Melle. The chiefs of this state had been converted to Muhammadanism in the middle of the eleventh century, and it is recorded of one of them (Sakura) who lived at the close of the thirteenth century that on the journey home from Mecca he was slain by the Danakil. His body was preserved and taken to Kuka in Bornu, whose king sent off messengers to convey the news to the Mandingo court at Kangaba. An embassy was sent to thank the king of Bornu and recover the body.

It was not until the time of Mansa Musa (1308-1331) that Melle reached the height of its power. Under this ruler the Melle Empire covered the whole of the western Sudan, including the state of Songhai and the Tuareg town of Timbuktu, which had been founded at the beginning of the twelfth century. Melle became a bulwark of Islam, and even after the capture of Timbuktu in 1468 continued to be the most eminent political, religious, and commercial state in the Sudan.

Melle teachers and traders found their way eastwards into the Hausa states, and there are to-day in the northern Provinces of Nigeria many communities which trace their origin to Melle missionaries. A large settlement of Melle Wangarawa came to Kano towards the end of the fourteenth century. There are Melle settlements in Katsina and Bauchi; and in Zaria history it is recorded that about A.D. 1500 the king of Zaria appointed a Melle Malam to the chieftainship of a Maguzawa district.

Ibn Batuta visited Melle in 1352, and his account is interesting as showing a culture then in existence which very much resembled that of the Hausa and Bornu states in recent times. He noted the extreme subservience of the Negro towards the king.

"For when any one is called to appear before him he will immediately put off his usual clothing and put on a worn-out dress with a dirty cap. He will then enter the presence like a beggar, with his clothes lifted up to the middle of his legs; he will then beat the ground with both his elbows and remain in the attitude of a person performing a prostration. When the Sultan addresses one of them he will take up the garment off his back and throw dust upon his head: and so long as the Sultan speaks everyone present will remain with his turban off."

Justice, he says, was impartially administered, travel-

ling was everywhere safe, prayers were well attended on Fridays, everyone wearing a white gown.

"As to their bad practices they would exhibit their little daughters as well as their male and female slaves quite naked.

"In the same manner would the women come into the presence of the king, which his own daughters will also do.

"The greatest part of them will eat stinking dead bodies, dogs, and asses."

Ibn Batuta mentions that the cowry was used for currency, and adds that he had seen cowry-shells similarly used in the Maldivé Islands. He makes several incidental references to Nigeria which would seem to indicate that the political power of Melle did not extend as far east as the Hausa states. Thus in speaking of the copper-mines of Tekada he mentions that the copper was made into rods and exported to Gobir, "situated in the country of the black infidels." In describing the course of the Niger (which he assumes to be the Nile), from Timbuktu onwards, he says that after leaving the furthestmost eastern limits of the Melle empire it flows on to Yuwi or Yufi, "the greatest district of Sudan, and the king of which is the most potent." He was referring no doubt to the ancient kingdom of Nufe or Nupe. Ibn Batuta also mentions Bornu, "which is forty days from Tekada, and its inhabitants are Muslims: they have a king named Idris, who never shows himself to the people and who never speaks to any one except from behind a curtain. It is from Bornu that the best slaves and eunuchs and saffron tinted garments come."

Before passing on to discuss the rise of Songhai, Melle's political successor, it is interesting to note that the honorary title of "lion," which is used in addressing Hausa and Fulani chiefs, was also borne by some at least of the

early Melle kings, as it was in even earlier times by Za-Zaki, the second king of Songhai.

On the death of Mansa Musa the Melle empire showed signs of disruption. It had had to stand the attacks of the powerful pagan confederation known as the Mosi empire (a racial group which includes some Nigerian tribes), who were well enough organized to be able to capture Timbuktu in 1329. We shall have occasion to refer to the Mosi states later on. The Melle empire continued intact for another century, but about 1500 it was finally overthrown by Omar Askia, king of Songhai.

Songhai. Songhai, with its capital at Gao on the Niger, had occupied a prominent position in the Sudan from the end of the seventh century. The traditional founder of the Songhai empire was Za-Alayaman, or Dialiaman, and from his name the story grew up that he had come from the Yemen.¹ (He was possibly a member of one of the Jewish colonies (Falasha) said to have been transported from the Yemen by the Abyssinians in the sixth century A.D.). Whether this story is a philological afterthought or really represents a tribal influx from southern Arabia need not be discussed here. It is quite probable that the Songhai did find their way from Egypt to the western Sudan about the time of the first Arab invasions of North Africa. There is a legend connected with Za-Alayaman which we find constantly cropping up in the traditional accounts given of the foundation of Sudanese states. It is that Za-Alayaman won authority over the people among whom he settled by killing the local river-god and inviting the people to worship himself instead. The worship of the Divine King has a Nilotic flavour. We shall find traces

¹ Compare the tradition of Sulayman in Macmichael's *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, vol. ii. p. 104, sect. xxx.

of it among the Jukun and Hausa, and we shall see from the traditional story of the origin of the Hausa that the killing of the dragon by the eponymous hero is a veiled attempt to account for the foreign custom of king-killing. It was only in the year A.D. 1009 that the people of Songhai accepted Islam, Za Kosoi being the first Muhammèdan king.

In the reign of Mansa Musa, Songhai was tributary to Melle. A Songhai prince, Ali Kilnu, who had been brought up at the Melle court, succeeded in asserting the independence of his country, and, with the capture in 1468 of Timbuktu by Sunni Ali, the empire of Melle finally passed into the hands of Songhai. On the death of Sunni Ali in 1492 the throne was seized by a Negro native of Songhai, Muhammad Askia. As we have seen, the rulers of Songhai were foreigners, of Himyaritic, Libyan, or Nilotic extraction, but they had no doubt lost the purity of their ancient stock, like the Fulani chiefs of Nigeria. Under the first Askia Songhai attained a supremacy in the Sudan which in an easterly direction surpassed that of Mansa Musa in earlier times. Askia reorganized his kingdom, created a standing army and defeated the Mosi, led expeditions against Borgu, and, if we can believe Leo Africanus, defeated the Hausa states of Katsina, Gobir, Kano, Zamfara, and Zaria (1513). About this time also (1516-17) Kanta, the Songhai Governor of Kebbi, revolted from Songhai and set up a powerful independent kingdom. Kano and Katsina were now already famous as centres of Islam. We read in the *Tarikh-es-Sudan* that the famous teacher El-hadj-Ahmed of Timbuktu, on returning from Mecca about 1485, stopped some considerable time at Kano teaching theology there, "numerous people profiting from his teaching, among whom was the famous jurisconsult Mahmoud." Makhoulouf-ben-Ali, another well-

known jurisconsult and geographer of Timbuktu, who had studied in Morocco, visited Kano and Katsina in the year 1500. Muhammad-ben-Ahmed was yet another distinguished Timbuktu scholar who took up his residence at Katsina about this time (1520). It is recorded that the king of Katsina treated him with great regard and entrusted him with the functions of *Alkali* or Judge.

Ali-Fulan, the famous minister of Askia the Great, died at Kano in 1528.

In 1553 the Askia, Daud, had to send a fresh expedition against Katsina. During this expedition it is related that twenty-four Songhai were on one occasion attacked by four hundred Katsinawa ; fifteen were killed and the remaining nine were taken prisoners, but so bravely had the Songhai fought that the Katsina soldiers dressed the wounds of their prisoners and sent them back to Askia with a message that such heroes should not be put to death. Two years later the Askia himself directed an expedition against Busa, " which he destroyed completely. A great number of people perished in the waters at this place "—where in later times Mungo Park was to meet a similar fate.

The Askia Daud was succeeded in 1582 by El-Hadj ; and it was during his reign that a Moorish army was sent against Songhai by Mulai Hamed, Sultan of Morocco. This army perished in the desert, but it was replaced a few years later by a force of 3,600 musketeers, which succeeded, in 1591, in driving out the Askia, Ishaak II., and completing the overthrow of the great Songhai empire. The Moroccan soldiers who settled in Songhai came to be known as the Ruma, and have left traces of their stock all over the Sudan. Since its overthrow by Morocco the Songhai nation has been split up and been subject to

Hausa, Taureg, and Fulani. Timbuktu was occupied by the French in 1891.

Internal History

Early Traditions. For the early history of the Northern Nigerian states we are dependent on (a) ancient tribal traditions, (b) notices by external historians, and (c) the written records of the people themselves. Many ancient Hausa records are said to have been destroyed by the Fulani invaders of Hausaland; those of Bornu by the Kanembu, and more recently during the invasion of Rabeh. Such material as we now possess is scanty and takes the form of unoriginal documents. The originals were lost and reproduced from memory. We find, therefore, considerable divergences and contradictions, and our difficulties are greatly increased by the theological bias of their non-critical Muslim authors, who connect the beginnings of all the Muslim tribes with Arabia and the rise of Islam. Thus the rise of the Fulani in West Africa is ascribed to the time of the first Muslim invasion; the Bornu kingdom is said to have been founded by Sef, son of the last Himyarite king of Mecca; the Tura are direct descendants of Muhammad; while the Gobir, Yoruba, Bede, Busa, and Burum peoples say they were driven out from the vicinity of Mecca in the days of the Prophet, coming into the Sudan by way of Asben. The Jukun also left the Yemen through fear of Muhammad, while the Daura tradition connects the founding of the Hausa states with the Abbassids of Baghdad.¹ Moreover, traditions of one tribe are adopted for themselves by wholly different tribes. It is thus impossible to correlate the various

¹ H. A. Macmichael's *History of the Arabs in the Sudan* gives numerous parallels to these Nigerian traditions. See particularly vol. i. pp. 10 and 162.

traditions, which constantly overlap. Any conclusions we draw must be of a purely general character.

The originator of the Bornu dynasty was, we have seen, Saef or Sef, reputed to have been a son of the Himyarite king, Du Hasan.¹ Sef emigrated to Djimi in Kanem, and there founded a kingdom. The Kanembu tradition gives us a few more details. The ancestor of the race was a woman named Aissa Bugdarimaram, daughter of one Bugdarima, king of Bugdari, who lived in Yemen and bore six sons, the eponymous ancestors of the Sefuwa, Kanuri, and Kanembu tribes. There are other variants of this story. The Sefuwa are believed to have reached the Kanem district by travelling due west through the Sudan, while the Kanembu, following the northern route through Egypt, were for a long time associated with the Tubu of Borku.

The Tubu have a tradition that Tuba Lowal started out originally from Hindi (India) with an army and went first to Cham (Syria), over which he established a suzerainty. He then proceeded against Bugdari or Goudeber, and so on to Masr (Egypt), and then south to the Yemen. In due course the Tubu (or some of them, at least) embraced Islam, and after the reign of Hussein, the sixth Caliph, when the Muhammadan world was divided, one branch of the Tubu went northwards, while another, under Seibu Aisami, crossed the Nile and travelled towards the Sudan, coming into Kanem presumably by Kordofan. This branch was the Sefuwa.

The Tura (Bornu-Kanuri) tradition is as follows. On the death of Muhammad his two grandsons, Hussein and Hassan, the sons of Fatima, went to Pass (Palestine ?),

¹ The kings of the Nuba (Dongola region) boast that they are Himyarites. See Macmichael, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 50.

north of Mecca, where Hassan was slain by the heathen. Hussein, with the sons of Hassan, then travelled westwards, and eventually came to Suakowi, west of Gashegar, in northern Bornu. Hussein went on as far as Garab, west of the Niger. Every true Tura, it is said, is supposed to have a written genealogy showing his direct descent from Hassan.

The story of the immigration of the Yoruba, Busa, Bede, and several other tribes centres round one "Kishra," who led out from Badar "near Mecca" a great concourse of people in the time of the Prophet. The Gobirawa give a specialized account of the same tradition. Before the battle of Badar the Prophet sent to Bana Turumi, then chief of "Gobur," asking him for support against Haibura, king of Kishra. Sarkin (*i.e.* "the chief of") Gobir supported both sides, dividing his men. Muhammad afterwards discovered the trick and declared that the Gobirawa would always suffer from divided counsels, but would never be exterminated in war. Bana Turumi travelled west until he came to Bilma salt-wells. There he died and was succeeded by Bachiri, who was followed by Dalla, son of Bachiri. Dalla then moved with his people to Agades, but being driven out by Asbenawa they went to Surukal, and then to Birnin Lelle. Bana Turumi is elsewhere said to have been a son of Yambawo of Daura, and here we have a connecting link with the entirely different Daura tradition which attempts to give an account of the foundation of the Hausa states.

Before proceeding to narrate the Daura tale a word may be added about the Kisra (or Kishra) tradition. Kisra is the title by which the Sassanian kings of Persia were known, other variants of the name being Chosroes, Khosru, Khusru, or Khusrau. The Kisra referred to in

the Nigerian tradition is apparently Khusru the Second, A.D. 590-628, whose conquests had extended to Yemen and Egypt. There may be something, then, in the statement of Belo, the scholarly Fulani Sultan of Sokoto, that the ancient rulers of Melle¹ were of Persian origin, and it is highly probable that some features of Persian culture found their way into the central Sudan. The sacrifice of the black bull, which was a characteristic practice of those who possessed the Kisra tradition, may be a vestige of the religion of Mithras. However this may be, there is nothing to connect Kisra with Christ, as some of the early English travellers thought. Nevertheless there are grounds for believing that there are traces of Christianity and Old Testament traditions among some of the northern Nigerian tribes. One of the Gobir kings, for example, was called Momadu Maigiche (*i.e.* Momadu of-the-Cross). He used a cross as a talisman, and it is said that the Katsinawa robbed him of his cross by bribing his wife. In a previous reign Gintara, the Gobir king, when fighting the Asbenawa, is said to have prayed to God to allow the

¹ The Kishra tradition possibly represents early Mandingan or Songhai (and perhaps ultimately Nubian) influence in Nigeria. The tradition is strongest at Busa where, in the Mande dialect spoken, *ki-shira* means "black king" (*ki*=king and *sira*=black). *Ki* was a royal Mandingan title. The Hausa word for 'king,' *siraki* or *sarki*, may have had a similar significance and point to a time when black (Nilotic ?) kings displaced "white" (Berber or Arab ?) in many of the Sudanese states (compare the history of Ghana, and the notice in the Bornu records where Hume is said to have been the first of the black kings of Bornu). Muhammad Askia of Songhai who attacked Borgu was said to have been of pure Negro origin. Kishra may possibly have been Ali Kilnu of Songhai who captured Timbuktu A.D. 1468, and who, though nominally a Muslim, became a byword throughout the Sudan on account of his persecutions of the followers of the Prophet. Or by 'Kishra' may be intended the Mosi emperor (called Nasira in his own country—*na* being a royal title=*ki*) who pillaged the territory of Ali Kilnu A.D. 1480—see M. Delafosse, *Haut-Senegal-Niger*, vol. ii. p. 80. The traditional date of the arrival of the 'Kishra' kings in Borgu was apparently circa A.D. 1480.

sun to stand still while he completed the conquest. The request was granted. The Bachama, who say they came from the region of Gobir, are said by Dr. Bronnum to have a cross as their sacred symbol, and they apply epithets to their good spirit Ndseandsu which are strongly reminiscent of the New Testament. He is, for example, like "the Mother Hen that gathers its chickens underneath its wings." He is likened to a dunghill, "for on him the people can lay their evil things." Some Maguzawa and Gwari are said to abstain from work every seven days.¹ It would appear, indeed, that some of the Hausa-speaking people had a Coptic origin, or had been in contact with Copts. Ibn Batuta's reference to Gobir as "the country of the black infidels" would seem to point to Jews or Christians rather than to a pagan people. The presence of Coptic words in Hausa, and the fact that Belo (the Fulani Sultan and historian) actually ascribed a Coptic origin to the people of Gobir is significant. Nubia was christianised by Copts, and Coptic missionary effort extended into Abyssinia. In the thirteenth century Gobir, which had become a fief of Bornu, asserted its independence on the ground that the Gobirawa were Copts from Egypt. The implication was apparently that their origin was different from that of the other Hausa states, the founders of which had some dependent relationship with Bornu. In this connection we may remember that the inhabitants of Ghana were stated by Abdallah-Es-Zohri to have been Christians prior to 1076, and that in 1488 a Jolof chief reported to John II. of Portugal that some of the West African tribes had much in common with Christians. Let us now look at the Daura tradition. The

¹ Among several pagan (and some Muslim) tribes, *e.g.* Ngizim, Bede, Keri Keri, Margi and Bolewa, Sunday has, from time immemorial, been observed as a rest-day from agricultural work.

traditional account of the founding of the "Hausa" states is contained in the tale of the Queen of Daura and Abayejidu. There are many variants of this story, and the one recorded here was read from a document in possession of the Kutumbawa of Kano. According to this legend the progenitor of the kings of Daura, Katsina, Gobir, Kano, Rano, and Zaria was one Abayejidu,¹ son of Abdulahi, king of Bagadaza (Baghdad). His father having been driven out of his country by a pagan horde headed by a woman, Ziduwan² by name, Abayejidu, or Mukтари as he is also called, travelled west to Bornu—presumably Kanem at that time—accompanied by a good many of his fellows in distress. The king of Bornu, Abdu Balili, found the presence of Abayejidu and his companions embarrassing, as they had begun immediately to levy war on the surrounding country, using Abdu Balili's people for this purpose. Abdu was even forced to give his daughter Magaram to Abayejidu. But eventually he succeeded in reducing Abayejidu to impotence by granting Bornu towns to the latter's followers. Abayejidu therefore found himself left with but two companions. These he dismissed, and they became respectively kings of Kanem and of Bagirmi. He himself went off to Minau (Damagaram country) where his wife gave birth to Biram, head of the chiefs of Damagaram, Abayejidu meanwhile came south to Daura, where the ruler of the town was

¹ The Asben legendary hero is Bayezid, and Mr. Palmer thinks he may be the same person as Abu Yezid, the Tunisian revolutionary whom Barth mentions as having been born at Gogo or Kukia (Songhai). Abu Yezid led a Kharijite Berber revolt against the Fatimid of North Africa (see Fournelles, *Berbers*, ii.).

² Abyssinia was in the tenth century devastated by a horde from the south under a queen, and the Agao were driven out. The Agao of Abyssinia may have been the parent stock of the Songhai. There was a famous Agao royal family known as the Za-gwe.

Daurama, the ninth of a succession of queens (the preceding eight were Ina-Gari, Gidir-gidir, Uwailu, Katsinta, Uweramu, Yakainya, Yakanu, and Kafara). Abayejidu arrived thirsty in the evening, and asked for water from the old lady (Wailu) with whom he stayed. She said there was none, as there was a serpent called Kii (Seriki) which prevented the drawing of water from the well (Kusugu). Abayejidu went to the well, slew the serpent, and took away its head. Next day the queen mounted her ox and went to the spot. In her joy she offered half the town to Abayejidu. But he said he desired not her town but only herself (a variant says he asked for Daura's daughter, Jan Dama), and so they were married and he stayed in her house. When the people went to the queen's house they said "we are going to the house of Mai-Kas-Seriki (the man who killed 'Serki'"). A variant says that Ser or SIRR = Mai-Kas, and Kii = snake, hence "Serki." And thus it was that the word Seriki or Sarki,¹ as it is now generally spelt, came to mean chieftain in the Hausa language.

Now Abayejidu had a concubine and she gave birth, and Daura called the concubine's son Mun-karba-gari ("we have taken the town"). Then Daura (Jandama) herself conceived and bore a son, and she called him Bawo (ma gari)—"give back the town." Bawo became chief of Daura. He had six sons—Bagauda, Kazuru, Gunguma, Duma, Kumaiyau, and Zamnagama—who became respec-

¹ *Sar kissati* or "Lord of the Hosts" was a fairly common title of the kings of Assyria (see *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x, p. 885). *Sirigi* is used as a title for chief by the inhabitants of Midob, 400 miles west of Khartoum (see MacMichael, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 61). *Siratigwi* seems to have had a similar meaning among some Mandingan peoples, who also used *ki* as a royal title. Compare the Hausa royal salutation *za-ki*, which is apparently a combination of two Songhai royal titles, and see also footnote to vol. i. p. 72. It is conceivable that Sarki = Kisari = Caesar.

tively kings of Kano, Daura, Zaria, Gobir, Katsina, and Rano, the first two and the two second being by the same mother, because the people of Kano are *abokinwasa* ("playmates")¹ with Daura; also those of Zaria with those of Gobir, and those of Katsina with those of Rano. Thereafter the manuscript proceeds to give a list of the kings of Kano, with the number of years each reigned. The total number of years given is 850 (to the arrival of the British in 1903). If allowance is made for calculation by lunar years, we may say roughly that Bagauda ascended the throne c. A.D. 1060.

Now with regard to this story there are various points that deserve notice. We need not dwell on the attempt to connect Abayejidu with Baghdad. All the Islamized tribes of the Sudan seek to establish a traditional connection either with Mecca or—if their history does not take them back to the time of the Prophet—with Baghdad, the seat in later times of the Abbassid Caliphate.

The essential points in the Daura tradition are that the founders of the Hausa states were foreigners from the East and all belonged to the same racial stock, that they introduced the horse but not apparently the Hausa language, that they found a state of society characterized by matri-potestal authority, and that if they did not follow this system themselves they adopted from the people they had conquered the matrilineal system of marriage, and certainly the matrilineal system of descent. (In the list of the kings of Kano down to the beginning of the Fulani dynasty descent is reckoned through the mother.)

The reference to Baghdad may be an echo of the time when North Africa was connected with the Caliphs of Baghdad. Eastern Barbary was ruled by an Arab Gov-

¹ See vol. ii. p. 148.



Fig. 35. A Katumbe—Kano Province



Fig. 36. A Jen youth—Muri Province

ernor from Baghdad until A.D. 800, and later we find Ibrahim-ben-Aghlab acting as Harun-al-Rashid's viceroy in Tunisia. Baghdad was conquered by the Mongols under Hulaku in 1258.

The legend further suggests that the ancient people of Hausaland revered the snake. This we can readily believe, as certain snakes are still regarded as sacred by the Angas, whose language is closely allied to Hausa, and representations of snakes have been dug up on the Bauchi Plateau (see p. 54). Incidentally we may note that, as the invading peoples may have come from the direction of Abyssinia, the ancient inhabitants of Abyssinia are said to have been ruled by queens, and to have worshipped a dragon who was their king. The story may, however, be a veiled account of a former custom of king-killing. *Mai-kas-sarki* means in Hausa "The one who killed the king." A variant of the Daura legend is that the animal killed was a lion. Now the Hausa word for lion is *zaki*, and this is also the term that is commonly used by the Hausa in addressing their chiefs. According to Professor Flinders Petrie, the killing and eating of their neighbour's sacred animal was, in the Nile valley, the regular means adopted by tribes who wished to assert their independence. It is possible, therefore, that the Daura invaders were of Nilotic origin. The story, however, bears a close resemblance to the Songhai tradition of Za¹ Alayaman, who, coming from the Yemen in A.D. 680, slew the river-god and became king of Kukia, which was then the Songhai capital. Songhai, already a flourishing state, may have, at the beginning of the tenth century, established its sovereignty in Hausaland. Or the invaders may have been

¹ It is possible that the Hausa royal title of *Zaki* (*op. cit.*) is composed of the Songhai *Za*, and *kwi*, which is the Songhai word for "king."

Tuareg, or Tubu from the Sahara, or merely Arab adventurers. We may now leave these speculations, and enter the region of fairly reliable history.

History of Bornu. Bornu was apparently the ethnical dumping-ground of Nigeria, and it will be appropriate therefore to follow briefly the history of this country from the days of Sef. Kanem was at that time the centre of what was only in later times known as the kingdom of Bornu, the ancient capital of Kanem having been Njimi. Nothing definite is known about the chronology or early history of Kanem, but we may assume that from A.D. 800 to about 1086 the kingdom of Kanem was in an embryonic condition. El Bekri, we have seen, had in the middle of the eleventh century heard of Kanem, though he referred to it as a land of idolaters and difficult to reach.

King Hume ascended the throne in 1086, and it is recorded of him that he was the first Muslim king of Kanem. Kanem therefore became the focus of Muslim civilization in the central Sudan. The people of Kanem at this time are said by Makrizi to have built a camp for themselves at Cairo. Dunama himself is said to have made three pilgrimages to Mecca.

Ibn Said refers in the thirteenth century to Bornu under its present title as then forming a part of the Kanem empire, which, under Dunama Dibalami, had become the first military power of the central Sudan, extending from Fezzan to Dikwa, and no doubt including all the Hausa states. Ibn Khaldun mentions the receipt by the king of Tunis about this time of the gift of a giraffe from the king of Kanem and "Master of Bornu"—an indication that Bornu was then in touch with Mediterranean civilization. Dunama's father is said to have been the first black king of Bornu, all the previous kings having had a

light complexion "like the Arabs." Whether this indicated the displacement of the Himyaritic or Libyan dynasty by Nilotic Negroes, or whether the fair dynasty had taken to intermarriage with their black subjects, is not clear.

The next two centuries seem to have been largely employed in combating the So. The So, who are reported as having been a giant race, were possibly tall Nilotic invaders like the Jukun, or they may have formed a portion of the aboriginal semi-Bantu stock.¹ They had successfully maintained themselves against, and even defeated, the kings of Kanem, killing four successive Kanem kings between 1346 and 1352. They cease to be mentioned as enemies of Kanem after the close of the fifteenth century. (But Idris Amsami at the close of the seventeenth century had again to deal with them.)

Idris Ben Nikale ruled from 1353 to 1376, and was mentioned by Ibn Batuta as king of Bornu. About this time trouble arose with a branch line of the royal family of Kanem, who are referred to in the chronicles as the Bulala; and the upshot of this struggle was that at the end of the fourteenth century Omar, son of Idris, withdrew to Kagha in Bornu. About this time also, *i.e.* 1400, Bornu seems to have had intimate relations with Hausaland. One of the kings was "Kade the Hausa," and another, Othman Kalnama, had to fly to Kano, where he died. The king of Kano was Muhammadu Rimfa. The young kingdom of Bornu—which had with difficulty during the previous century maintained its existence owing to the attacks of the Bulala and the internal dissensions consequent upon the feudal system of government instituted in

¹ Mr. F. W. H. Migeod thinks, from a few So words he has collected, that the So language was akin to Kamuku.

the days of Dunama—was now, under the famous king Ali Ghajideni (1472-1504), reorganized and consolidated. A permanent capital, Gasrgomo or Birni, was built, the power of the feudal chiefs was curtailed, and Ali waged war on all flanks—with the Bulala, with Kano, with the Wangara, and also with Kanta, Askia's Governor of the most eastern province of Songhai. Kanta presumably had not yet asserted his independence of Songhai. It was about this time that Leo Africanus is thought to have visited Bornu, which was then sufficiently well known to be included in Portuguese maps under the name of Bernu.

Ali marched against Kanta because "he was oppressing the inhabitants of the provinces he had conquered," presumably the Hausa states. This would seem to indicate that these states, and possibly also Borgu, had been under Songhai for some considerable time. Ali attacked Kanta in his capital, Al Surami (the stone walls of which are still standing), but was forced to beat a retreat, in which he was severely harassed by Kanta. Ali's successor, Idris Ben Ali (1504-1526), succeeded in overthrowing the Bulala and reducing Kanem to a state of dependence on Bornu. He is said to have had political dealings with the king of Tripoli. Muhammad (1526-1545) carried on the war against Kebbi.

We first hear of Fulani settled in Bornu in the reign of Abd Allah (1564-1570), and of the introduction of firearms in that of Idris Amsami, one of the most renowned of Bornu kings, and the first to use the title of Sultan (1571-1603). It was due to his muskets (imported, no doubt, from Tripoli) that he was able to subdue thoroughly, one after the other, the numerous pagan tribes within his territory, encouraging them to attack each other. Kanem was brought into a state of complete subjection; expedi-

tions were sent against the Tuareg tribes as far north as Air, and all the strongholds of the Hausa province of Kano (with the exception of Kano Hill itself) were captured. Idris also found time to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

A series of listless rulers followed, under whom the Bornu empire began to fall into a state of decay. Ali (1645-1684) was apparently an exception. He was attacked at the same time by Tuareg from the north and Jukun from the south, and by setting these against each other, he succeeded in driving out both.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bornu was still so powerful that it held in subjection all the country to the south as far as Kororofa. The Jukun power had then become disintegrated, and in 1800 the Jukun chief of Kororofa was paying a tribute to Bornu of one thousand slaves annually. In 1808 the Fulani, having conquered the Hausa states, began to assail the frontiers of Bornu; and Ahmed the Sultan, finding the invaders too strong for him, fled from his capital and summoned to his assistance his relative, Muhammad-el-Amin El-Kanemi, commonly known as Shehu (*i.e.* Sheikh) Lamino. Under his resolute leadership the Bornu armies drove out the Fulani, but two years later Ahmed's successor, Dunama, had again to appeal to the Sheikh, who lent his assistance on consideration of receiving half the revenues of the liberated provinces. The appeal to El-Kanemi had important ethnic results; the Sheikh summoned to Bornu many Kanembu tribes, who settled there permanently and intermarried with the Kanuri.

In 1814 El-Kanemi founded Kukawa¹ as the new capital of Bornu, of which he was now the virtual ruler, though

¹ Clapperton and Denham, the English explorers, visited Kukawa during their 1822-24 expedition.

Dunama, and later Ibrahim, the representative of the Sef dynasty, continued to hold the title of Mai or Sultan. In conjunction with Abd-el-Kerim, king of Wadai, he began operations against Bagirmi, a state which until now had been tributary to Bornu. Abd-el-Kerim annexed Bagirmi, so El-Kanemi called in the Fezzans to help him and ravaged Bagirmi. The strife continued until 1824, when El-Kanemi finally defeated his enemies at Ngala—a battle which was witnessed by Denham, the English explorer. El-Kanemi, the founder of a new dynasty, died in 1835. He had played the great part of saving Bornu from the Fulani.

Sheikh Muhammad of Tunis, writing of this period, makes some interesting and amusing observations. After commenting on the inferiority of the peoples of Bornu to those of Wadai he goes on to say :

“ I have often been told that the Fulas have conquered the Bornus nearly every time they have fought with them. When my father went from Bagirmi to Bornu the Fulas had just gained a great victory over that country and its Sultan had fled away to Kanem. Here the able Vizier Emin received him, and having collected a large army, succeeded in replacing him on the imperial throne. On one occasion the Sultan of Bornu, about the time of the wars of Zaky (Dan Fodio), sent an army under the command of one of his Viziers to meet the Fulas. During the march the Bornus saw a great black mass in front of them and broke up and fled, believing the mass, which was a herd of ostriches, to be the Fulas. For this the Sultan put all the chiefs to death, so the army was re-collected and completely defeated the Fulas, driving them out of the country.”

Sheikh Muhammad, speaking of the disunion of pagans, writes :

“ The idolatrous tribes to the south of Sudan are divided into groups and families. They are vastly superior in

numbers to the Moslems, and it is surprising that they do not overwhelm them.

“ The explanation may be found in the spirit of brotherhood which unites the Muslims, whilst the pagans are always divided one against another. When the enemy attacks a village and takes away the women and children the people of the next village look on without attempting to give assistance. They are attacked next, and their neighbours regard them with equal indifference. If these idolaters knew the strength which union gives none of the Moslem states of Sudan would dare to attack them.”

El-Kanemi's son Omar was content to hold the title of Sheikh, leaving that of Sultan to Ibrahim, who proved to be the last Sef Sultan of Bornu. Ibrahim attempted to get rid of Omar, and, being unable to do this without external aid, he called in Muhammad Sherif, king of Wadai. The results were disastrous for Bornu. Omar was defeated at Kusseri in 1846, and the Wadaians pillaged the country as far as the capital Kukawa, which was destroyed. Omar, however, eventually won the day, Ibrahim was put to death, and the ancient “ Sef ”¹ stock was almost annihilated. Omar reigned as Shehu of Bornu until his death in 1880. During his reign many European travellers—including Richardson, Barth, Vogel, Rohlf, and Nachtigal—visited Bornu.

Bornu experienced another convulsion by the arrival of Rabeh in 1893. Rabeh was a foster-son of Zubeir Pasha, the slave-hunter, who was imprisoned at Cairo in 1870 by the Egyptian Government. On the defeat of Zubeir's son, Suleman, in 1880, Rabeh managed to escape with a division of 3000 Negro soldiers and some guns. With this force, which was largely officered by Arabs from Kordofan, he attempted to instal himself in Wadai, but being driven

¹ The so-called Sef dynasty did not probably represent a single continuous ruling house, as there is plenty of evidence of frequent changes of dynasty in the early history of Bornu.

out, he overran Bagirmi, and finally entered Bornu in 1893. The reigning Shehu (Hashim) fled, but his self-appointed successor, Kiari, succeeded in defeating Rabeh. Rabeh, however, owing to the better discipline of his troops, was able to turn his defeat into a victory, which resulted in the death of Kiari and the wholesale massacre of his adherents. Kukawa was destroyed and the capital established at Dikwa. Rabeh came into contact with the French in 1897, and defended himself with some success until he was killed in 1900, when the Kanëmi dynasty was restored. The Shehu now resides at Maiduguri.

We may conclude this historical sketch of Bornu by giving a rough summary of what appears to us to have been the main tribal movements connected with the political events described. We have seen that the earlier historical records of Bornu centre round Kanem. It was not until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that the Kanuri tribes, allies of the Tubu, found their way into modern British Bornu. Prior to their arrival Bornu was peopled by a variety of tribes of a different stock, about whose origin nothing definite can be ascertained. These are to-day represented by the Bura, Margi, Keri-Keri, Ngamo, Ngizim, Ngalaga, and various other ancient tribes known collectively as the So. The Bede also were a pre-Kanuri people. Then came the Kanuri invasion in continuous waves, extending perhaps over two centuries (the name Kanuri being a collective term signifying the allied peoples who came from Kanem). With the Kanuri tribes came perhaps also the Bolewa, Tera, and Babur.

Fulani settlers began to appear early in the sixteenth century. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Shuwa Arabs, who had been settled in Darfur and Wadai since 1400, first appeared in modern Bornu, and this move-

ment became more and more extensive in the early years of the nineteenth century, when El-Kanemi invited them, with the Kanembu tribes, to join him in Bornu. The Kanembu tribes, the purest of which are known as the Bedduwai or nomadic pastorals, are much less Negro than their Kanuri relatives. Nevertheless, through free inter-marriage with the surrounding tribes, they are fast losing their Hamitic characteristics.

The Hausa and other States. The term Hausa is used to denote (a) the Hausa language, (b) the country where the main body of the Hausa-speaking peoples are centred (*i.e.* from Zaria to Katsina and Sokoto), and (c) as *Hausawa* (singular *Bahaushe*) all those peoples of the central and western Sudan who speak the Hausa language as their mother tongue. These peoples are of mingled origin, but, owing to the possession of a common language, and a common culture (largely influenced by Islam), they may be described as a nation-in-the-making, even though they are still far from the condition of being politically and territorially united. The origin of the term Hausa is obscure. But it is easy enough to invent derivations. Thus, recalling that the pre-Daura inhabitants of Hausaland were unacquainted with the horse and rode cattle, one might ingenuously suggest that Hausa meant 'bullock-rider.'¹ The Muslim with a knowledge of Arabic will assure you that Hausawa = Hassawa = the "chosen." But he says nothing of the more plausible, and indeed probable, Arabic derivation from the root meaning "mixed" which has produced the term Abyssinians ('Ahabish' and 'Habsha'). In this connection we may note that the Arabic historian, El Masudi, writing in 943 A.D., speaks

¹ It is possible that the term Hausawa meant "cattle people," and was so used by the Songhai and Zabirma. The word for cow in Zabirma is *hausan*.

of the descendants of Kush as "Habsha," one branch of whom moved westwards towards el Zaghawa and el Kanem and Marka and Kaukau and Ghana. (See MacMichael's *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, vol. i. p. 55). There is a tribe in Abyssinia to-day of Somali-Berber origin known as the Ausa, but an examination of the language of this people did not reveal any affinity with that of the Nigerian Hausa. There was a province called Ausa, near Timbuktu, mentioned by Barth (vol. v. p. 471). Barth also mentions that the Western Tuareg and the people of Timbuktu used this word to denote the country on the northern side of the Great River. Now there is a tradition that the Bede, Nigizim, and Maguzawa (who, we may assume, formed part of the original Hausa stock) came in and settled "North of the River."

Tribes arriving later in Bornu from the direction of Kanem might well have described the peoples settled to the west and south-west as the "River-peoples"—a tribal designation not uncommon in Nigeria. It is significant, therefore, that in the language of the Bolewa and Ngamo, who are comparatively recent immigrants, the word for river is *haushi*. A river person would thus be *Ba-haushi* and river people *Hausawa*. These derivations are mere suggestions, and against the last it might be urged that the Bolewa now speak of the Hausa as the Afanu—a term commonly used throughout Bornu.¹ The Bolewa may, however, have adopted this term from the Beri-Beri, and there are reasons for believing that Afanu itself signifies "the River People." That the term Hausa as a tribal label was of late introduction would appear to be confirmed by the circumstance that Leo Africanus described the inhabitants of Kano, Zaria, and Katsina

¹ The Beri-Beri pronunciation is Afunu.

as speaking, not the Hausa language, but that of Gobir.

There are other possible derivations of the term, which I put forward with diffidence. In the Hausa language, *Hau*=to mount, and *sa*=bullock. The Hausawa would thus mean the "bullock-riders," and the term was adopted as a nickname. According to the Daura tradition, the aboriginal inhabitants rode cattle and were unacquainted with horses. An apparent objection to this interpretation would be that the singular form of *Hausa-wa* is *Ba-Haushe*. But *she* was probably an alternative word for cow. For the plural of *sa* is *shanu*. Incidentally the Bedauye of the Nile valley use the word *sha* for cow (singular).

The Hausa-speaking peoples used to describe the states of Kano, Zaria, Daura, Gobir, Katsina, Biram, and Rano as the *Hausa Bokwoi*, or the *seven* Hausa states; while Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yelwa, Ilorin, Kwororofa (Jukun), and Zamfara were called the *Banza Bokwoi*. *Banza* may mean bastard or upstart, and this is the meaning usually attached to-day to the expression *Banza Bokwoi*. But *Banza* may also mean "unclothed." Hausa may therefore have been an expression meaning "clothed." The name by which the Beri-Beri call the Hausa, viz. Afunu, has probably the same significance, as also the term Abakwariga, which is borne by the pagan Hausa who live at Wukari.¹ Moreover, there is a persistent tradition among the pagan tribes who were displaced by the Hausa (*e.g.* the Bachama) that they were driven south by invaders who wore baggy trousers. The Arabic derivation of *Hausawa* which makes it "the chosen" (Hassawa) is no doubt purely fictitious.

¹ *Afunu* probably means "wearers of a loin cloth," and *Abakwariga* "wearers of a gown."

We have seen (p. 74) that the Daura tradition ascribed a common origin to the founders of the Hausa kingdoms of Daura, Kano, Gobir, Katsina, Zaria, and Rano,¹ and that Daura was regarded as the parent state. Some confirmation of the position claimed for Daura may be found in the chronicles of El Bekri, who, writing in the eleventh century, refers to Daura as a town of considerable importance even in those early days.

The dynasty of Kano was founded, it is said, by Bagauda, grandson of Abajejidu, who arrived from Daura with thirteen thousand foot-soldiers and thirteen hundred horsemen. Incidentally they brought with them the musical instrument known as the *algaita*—an oboe. Kano was at this time inhabited by a people who seem to have come originally from Bagayam in Asben. Their chieftain was Dalla, a very tall and very black negro who could, it was said, kill an elephant with a stick and carry it home on his shoulders. The religious worship centred round a sacred pole, a cult apparently similar to that of Kworarafa, Borgu, Katsina, and Bagirmi. On these people, whose modern representatives are the Maguzawa, descended Bagauda at the beginning of the eleventh century, and founded a dynasty of forty-three kings, which lasted until the Fulani conquest of Kano in 1807. The Kutumbawa claim to be the descendants of Bagauda and his followers. In the Kano chronicle (translated by Mr. H. R. Palmer) the history of Kano is reviewed from the days of Bagauda to the death of Alwali in 1807, and although the Chronicle contains a number of obvious inaccuracies²

¹ Biram and Zamfara are also sometimes included.

² We can hardly credit, for example, the statement that cowries were only introduced into Kano at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Ibn Batuta had seen them used as currency at Melle in 1352.



Fig. 37. One of the Maguzawa tribe —Kano Province

the general course of events described may be accepted as fairly reliable history.

There is little of interest recorded for the reigns of the first ten kings, but in 1343 Osumanu Zamnagawa is said to have killed the ruling king Tsamia, and the Chronicle adds that it is not known how Tsamia was made away with, "whether Zamnagawa ate him or buried him no one knows." This comment has a touch of authenticity, and it may be well that in pre-Muhammadan times the king of Kano was, in accordance with a custom common in Africa,¹ ceremonially slain, parts of his body being eaten by his successor.

There is a notable entry for the reign of Yaji (1349-1385): "In his time the Wangarawa came from Melle, bringing the Muhammadan religion. There were about forty of them, led by Abduraman. They commanded the king to observe the times of prayer and he complied." A mosque was built, and a Muhammadan judiciary set up. This may have occurred about the time of Ibn Batuta's visit to Melle (see p. 64), and as this writer informs us that the inhabitants of Bornu were Muslims we must conclude that the civilization of the Hausa states was less advanced than that of Bornu. Yaji is said to have died at Kworarafa, the Jukun state in the Benue basin. Quilted armour was introduced into Kano in the reign of Kanajeji (1390-1410), and it is at this time that we first hear of wars with the "men of Zukzuk" or Zaria. Zaria was no doubt as old a state as Kano, for it boasts a list of fifty-five pre-Fulani kings.² In the early days of the fifteenth century it rose, under its famous queen

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 58 ff.

² Not perhaps a very reliable list, as one of the kings, Kwasau, is said to have reigned 213 years!

Amina, to be the most powerful state of the Central Sudan. "All the towns as far as Kworarafa and Nupe paid tribute to her. The king of Nupe sent forty eunuchs and ten thousand kolas to her. She first had eunuchs and kolas in Hausaland. Her conquests extended over thirty-four years." Amina is said to have built walled cities, and to have married a fresh husband at each place she stopped, killing him when she left.

Apart from Amina and the queen of Daura we read of no other queens in Hausa history, but there is plenty of evidence that in Bornu and the other Central Sudanese states certain female relatives of the king exercised a controlling influence in state affairs. The high position held by the mother of Abdulahi, king of Kano from 1499 to 1509, is specially noted in the Kano Chronicle, and extended into the reign of her grandson Kisoki. She had an official bodyguard. In the reign of Abubakr Kano (1565-1573) the king's sister was apparently a very important person. Again, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, we read that the king of Kano sent a gift of oboes to Madaiki Mariamma, "since she was a great person—there was no woman like her in the seven Hausa states."

To return, however, to the history of Kano, it is noteworthy that in the reign of Abdulahi Burja (1438-1452) Kano acknowledged the suzerainty of Bornu, and it would seem probable that throughout the centuries Bornu exerted a greater influence over the Hausa states than would appear from the records of the latter. In Burja's time it was recorded that, as a result of raids on southern pagan tribes, slaves became numerous in Kano and that twenty-one slave towns were founded. It is easy to see from references such as this the extent to which slavery contributed to tribal intermixture in Nigeria.

“ In Yakubu’s time (1452-1463) the Fulani came to Hausaland from Melle bringing with them books on Divinity and Etymology. Formerly our doctors had, in addition to the Koran, only the books of the Law and the Traditions. The Fulani passed by and went to Bornu, leaving only a few men in Hausaland. At this time, too, the Asbenawa came to Gobir, and salt became common in Hausaland. Beri-Beri came in large numbers and a colony of Arabs arrived. Yakubu sent ten horses to the king of Nupe in order to buy twelve eunuchs.”

In the reign of Muhamma Rimfa (1463-1499) “ the Sherifs came to Kano. They were Abdu Rahaman and his people. Abdu Rahaman lived in Kano and established Islam. He ordered Rimfa to build a mosque, and to cut down the sacred tree. And when he had established the Faith he returned to Masr, leaving Sidi Fari to carry on the work.” The work was not apparently very well carried on, for the Chronicle goes on to record that Rimfa was the first king to have one hundred wives !

Katsina is said to have defeated Kano at this time. The early Katsina dynasty had by the middle of the fifteenth century been displaced by that of Korau—a Wangara apparently from Melle. It is not improbable that prior to the rise of Songhai the various Hausa states were in some form of subjection to Melle, and when Ali Bornu, at the close of the fifteenth century, is said to have made war on Wangara the inference may be that he went against the Hausa states. On the decline of the Melle empire these states may have attempted to assert their independence, and this may have been the cause of the Songhai attack in 1513. There is a tradition, which apparently refers to this period, that two of the Hausa states were appointed overseers of traffic and commerce, two more directors of industry, and a fifth procurer of slave labour. This interesting picture of the economic

condition of Hausaland implies a fairly advanced state of civilization, and hardly bears out the statement of Leo Africanus that the natives of Kano and Katsina were half-naked barbarians!

During the reign of Muhamma Zaki (1582-1618) Kano and the other Hausa states suffered severely at the hands of the Kworarafa,¹ "who ate up the whole country." The Jukun of Kworarafa are said to have waged successful war as far north as Gobir. Katsina was ravaged, and Zaria appears to have become tributary to the Jukun, possibly as a result of the decline of Melle. In the early part of the sixteenth century Kano, Katsina, and Zaria came under the indirect suzerainty of Songhai. Kano was conquered by Kebbi, at that time a province of Songhai, and according to the Zaria records "the Damo people came down from the hills and followed Askia." We likewise read of Askia appointing local headmen in Zaria. Kebbi, under its chief the Kanta, severed its connection with Songhai in the early days of the sixteenth century. In 1558, when Timbuktu and the Songhai empire had fallen into the hands of the 3,600 musketeers dispatched by Mulai Hamed, Emperor of Morocco, the ruling Askia fled to Kebbi. A garrison of 200 of these musketeers was stationed for a time at Kalna in Dendi² country, to the south-west of Birnin Kebbi. The kingdom of Kebbi was wealthy and powerful, and even in 1805, when Birnin Kebbi was captured by the Fulani, a large quantity of gold and silver was said to have been taken.³

¹ The attacks of the Kworarafa were continued in the following century, and *c.* 1660 and 1703 two of the Kano kings were driven out of their capital.

² The Dendawa still speak a dialect of the Songhai tongue.

³ In 1912 Dr. Lindsay picked up at Birnin Kebbi an English silver groat of the reign of Edward III.

It is also in connection with Songhai that we obtain reliable information about the Borgu states of Busa and Illo. They were sufficiently powerful in 1504-05 to merit the attention of the Askia Muhammad who conducted an expedition against Borgu, carrying off numerous slaves, one of whom became the mother of the succeeding Askia Musa. Again in 1555-56 the Askia Daud attacked and sacked Busa, but many of his followers suffered the fate which befell Mungo Park in later times, for they were drowned in the rapids of the Niger. The states of Bauchi and Gombe were apparently in existence in the seventeenth century, as Kutumbe, king of Kano, is said in the *Chronicles* to have made war in these regions between 1623 and 1648. The kingdom of Nupe is also mentioned in the *Kano chronicles*. The foundation of this state is traditionally ascribed to Edegi, who came up the Niger from Attagara, which was either the Igala capital of Idah or some powerful city in the Benue basin. The date of Edegi's arrival is reckoned to have been somewhere in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, but we know from Ibn Batuta that Nupe was already in 1352 a powerful kingdom into which no Arabs or Berbers dared penetrate.

We need not follow the history of the various states during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed there is little to record. In the Benue and Niger regions Kworarafa and Nupe remained the predominant powers, but towards the close of the eighteenth century the power of Kworarafa waned, and, becoming a vassal of Bornu, she sank into insignificance, and finally disappeared entirely from Nigerian history. Nupe was rent by civil wars early in the nineteenth century and became an easy prey to the Fulani. Bornu continued supreme in the North-East throughout the centuries. In the North-West

the ancient kingdom of Gobir attained, during the eighteenth century, a military supremacy the aggressive character of which was made the excuse for the Fulani attack, which, developing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, resulted in a political and religious revolution destined to alter permanently the fortunes of northern Nigeria.

The Fulani. The Fulas are known generally in Nigeria as the Fulani or Filani. This is the name used by the early Arabic historians. To the Beri-Beri they are known as the Fellata, and to the Mandingoes as the Fulbe, which latter is also the title by which they call themselves.

They are found scattered all over North Africa, from the Upper Nile to the Senegal, either as inoffensive nomad herdsmen or settled among alien peoples as the ruling caste. They are the dominant political power in northern Nigeria to-day. Ethnically the Fulani are a puzzle, and there are many theories as to their origin. Linguistically they are seen to stand in a group by themselves. The traditional first chief of the Fulani was Ilo Falagui, son of Ham, and there is much to be said for the theory of the Hamitic origin of this people. The physical resemblance between the purer Fulani and representations of the proto-Egyptians is remarkable.¹ There is in both the same shape of head, the oval face, the slight build suggestive of effeminacy, the characteristic chin-tuft, the absence of moustache and of the peppercorn hair of the Negro. The Fulani traditionally derive from the Pharaohs of Egypt their plaited method of doing their hair, as well as their custom of circumcision.

Chantre and Broca, on physical grounds, relate the

¹ For example, see the picture of a proto-Egyptian given in Prof. Elliot Smith's *Ancient Egyptians*.



Fig. 38. A Fulani woman

Fulani to the Fellahs of the Nile valley. Muller, on linguistic grounds, classes them with the Naba of the Upper Nile. Other writers have thought there might be a connection between the Phoenicians and the Fulani. The reason for this assumption is, no doubt, that the Fulani are red and the Greeks called the Phoenicians the red men. There is also a possibility of some ancient connection with a Phrygian people. They wear a Phrygian cap, and have the Phrygian helmet method of doing the hair. The Taurudu, who are said to have been white, might conceivably have contained remnants of Phrygians from the Taurus regions.

Other observers, noting a resemblance to the Jewish race, believe the Fulani to be of Semitic or semi-Semitic origin. Thus M. Delafosse believes that the Fulani are a hybrid people, the offspring of Judæo-Syrians, who were settled in very early times at Cyrenaica, and, eventually finding their way through Asben to the Upper Niger, became the white rulers of Ghana from the fourth to the eighth or ninth centuries. They presumably intermarried with the Wakore, and being finally expelled took refuge with the Tukolor or Tukrur, whose language they adopted.

Mr. Palmer¹ similarly believes that the Fulani are half-castes, the children of Berber women and the Ummayad soldiers, who came into Africa in the early days of Islam. This is El-Bekri's explanation of the origin of the Honeihim, and is based no doubt on the Fulani tradition that they are the descendants of Ukuba bin Yasir, or bin Nafia,² an Arab who came from the East and settled among

¹ Mr. Palmer's present opinion is that the mixture was of Jews and Arabs with a Sudanese tribe of Cushite origin (the Zaghawa).

² Ukuba bin Yasir is also claimed as ancestor of the Awlad Ukba, a sub-tribe of the Kababish, and there is a traditional connection between the Awlad Ukba and the Fulani (see MacMichael's *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, vol. ii, p. 49, sect. cxix.).

the "Arabic-speaking" tribe of the Taurudu, or Torode, in the country of Futa. He taught the Taurudu religion, married a Taurudu woman named Bajamanga, by whom he had four sons, and eventually returned to Egypt. (Others say that Bajamanga was a daughter of the king of Tunis.)

Now this is clearly an attempt to identify the origin of their race with the Muslim Arab invasion of North Africa by Ukuba-bin-Nafia in A.D. 669. This invasion, which extended from Egypt to the shores of the Atlantic and caused the displacement of many Libyan tribes, may have resulted in the production of half-caste types. But it is difficult to believe that the Fulani originated in this way. If it were so their language would reflect to a far greater extent than it does the crossing of stocks, and the physical type produced would not be the very distinctive and peculiar type which we see in the nomad Fulani. A nation of half-castes scattered in groups over the whole of North Africa would speedily tend to disappear by absorption, whereas the Fulani have maintained a remarkable national solidarity and race exclusiveness, which is even more conspicuous in those of their communities which are destitute of political organization. The Fulani are probably a very ancient Libyan tribe whose original home was Egypt or Asia—just such a tribe as Herodotus describes in Book IV., sec. 186.

Thus from Egypt, as far as Lake Tritonis, Libya is inhabited by wandering tribes, whose drink is milk and their food the flesh of animals. Cow's flesh, however, none of these people even taste, but abstain from it for the same reason as the Egyptians. Neither do any of them breed swine. Even at Cyrene the women think it wrong to eat the flesh of the cow, honouring in this Isis the Egyptian goddess, whom they worship both with fasts and festivals.

The Barcaeans women abstain not from cow's flesh only, but also from the flesh of swine."

The food of the Fulani to-day is milk, and his reverence for his cattle is one of the most notable features of his character.

Whatever their origin may have been we find the Fulani settled on the Upper Senegal regions in the days of the Ghana empire, having possibly been driven down from the Atlas mountains by the advance of the Almoravid sheikh, Yaya bin Ibrahim. They wandered first to Faluga, then to Futa Jallon, and gradually spread their influence over the western Sudan. Their method of obtaining political power was always the same. They entered a country as inoffensive herdsmen, with *miel sur les lèvres, fiel au cœur*, as a French writer has said of them. Like cats waiting to spring they watched their opportunity, and by a sudden coup made themselves, in spite of their small numbers, political masters of the country. Whether they were the "white" rulers of the early Ghana empire it is impossible to say, but in the later days of Melle and Songhai they were a source of constant anxiety to the rulers of those powerful western states. They appear to have found their way gradually into northern Nigeria by the end of the thirteenth century. According to the Bornu chronicles, Fulani religious chiefs from Melle visited King Biri about that time. The Kano records tell us that in Rimfa's time there were Fulani settled at Kano. It was with the help of Fulani in 1517 that Himadu, son of the Kanta of Kebbi, drove his brother out of the kingdom. The stream of migration eastwards was thereafter continuous. One of the immigrant sub-tribes was the Toronki, who came from the direction of Melle and settled in what is now the province of Sokoto. Various other

Fulani sub-tribes had preceded the Toronkawa and settled in Hausa, Bornu, and Adamawa. Fulani chiefs already occupied important positions at Zaria and Hadeija long before the Jihad. The Toronkawa do not appear to have been pure-blooded Fulani, but to have had a good deal of Jolof and Wolof admixture. According to Belo they spoke the Wakore language, and were connected also with the Sulebawa, who were of Mandingo stock. We have no record of the exact date of the arrival of the Toronkawa, but Fodio, the father of Shehu Usuman, who caused the political revolution in northern Nigeria, was said to be the thirteenth descendant of the immigrant leader Jakolo. Usuman was born at Marata in 1754, and his brother Abdulahi, afterwards Emir of Gando, was twelve years his junior.

The Fulani conquest of northern Nigeria dates from the Hijra or flight of Usuman dan Fodio from Degel in Gobir, on the 21st February, 1804. Usuman had taken it upon himself to release certain Muslim captives of Yunfa, Sarkin (chief of) Gobir. Yunfa threatened to destroy Usuman's settlement at Degel. Thereupon Usuman fled to Gudu with his followers, and was proclaimed Sarkin Musulmi or Chief of the Muslims, a title formerly held by the Askia of Songhai. Ostensibly the Shehu's war was undertaken on behalf of the Muslim religion, which he believed to have fallen into a state of degradation in consequence of the evil example set by the reigning chiefs of Nigeria. Shehu was himself a fervid Muslim to the point of fanaticism. He was a good scholar and linguist, and was thus in every way a suitable person to initiate a Holy War. But he had laid his plans long before his flight from Degel, and, viewed in the light of other Fulani revolutions in the Sudan, it must be admitted that the ultimate aim of this one in

Nigeria was the foundation of a Muhammadan theocracy. The movement was at once national and religious. (He had charged the Sarkin Gobir with having issued a proclamation that no man need be a Muslim except those who had inherited the faith from their fathers, and that turbans should not be worn by men or handkerchiefs by women.)

El-Kanemi, sheikh of Bornu, himself a keen Muslim, accused the Fulani of grasping at empire under the guise of a religious reformation. Before the Shehu had left Degel he had sent letters to Malam Adamu at Adamawa and Malam Yakubu at Bauchi, directing them to drive out the chiefs of Adamawa and Bauchi. The people of Bornu were accused by the Fulani of making sacrifices to stones and trees, and practising observances on their rivers similar to those of the Egyptians on the banks of the Nile. El-Kanemi admitted the truth of some of the charges, but denied that they were sufficient to justify a Jihad. Thus he did not deny that many of the Muslim chiefs did on occasion take part in pagan rites (as some do to-day). He also admitted that the women went unveiled (as they also do to-day), and that the court judges took bribes (as they do to-day when they get the chance). On the other hand the Fulani onslaught was not altogether racial, as many Fulani fought against Usuman and many Hausa fought on his side.

Sheikh Muhammad, of Tunis, says :

“ These Fulas were formerly considered to be the most contemptible of the people of Nigritia. In Soudan it is related that they descend from a chameleon and consequently never had a human father. The woman from whom they sprang was found sleeping by a chameleon and bore a child from whom all the Fellatahs descended. For my part I think that this is a fable invented for the purpose of contempt. Nowadays the Fullans are supposed to be the people who are the most advanced in intelligence

and knowledge compared with the other black peoples of the centre of Africa. They themselves pretend to be of the blood of the illustrious Ammar, son of Yasir, one of the celebrated and virtuous companions of Mohammed.

"The Fellatahs accuse all the other people of Soudan of impiety and heterodoxy, and maintain that force of arms should be used to bring them into the right way.

"They pretend that their neighbours have changed and adulterated the principles of Islam ; that they have violated the penal prescriptions of the law by allowing pecuniary commutations, that is to say, an illicit trade proscribed by the book ; that they have sapped the basis of religion, and have corrupted the rules of Islam by proclaiming illegal and criminal innovations as legitimate ; by shameful habits ; by adultery and incest ; by the use of fermented drinks ; by the passion for amusements, songs, and dances ; by the neglect of the daily prescribed prayers ; by the indulgence in all kinds of ill-regulated desires ; and by the refusal of tithes for the poor. Each of these crimes and shames deserves vengeance, and calls for a holy war in all the states of Soudan."

On the whole, we may say that religious enthusiasm was the immediate cause of the Jihad, but the ultimate cause was the arrival of a virile race of a higher type among peoples who, owing to centuries of a sedentary life, had lost their virility.

For the first three years of the Jihad the Fulani met with a stout resistance. Katsina was captured in 1805, but the Katsina rulers and the more warlike of their followers maintained themselves at Maradi. Kano also was taken in 1805, the Habe chief Alwali being pursued and slain at Burum. But in the same year the Fulani suffered a severe defeat at Alwassa from a mixed army of Kebbawa, Gobirawa, Tuareg, and others. In 1808 the tide definitely turned in favour of the Fulani by the defeat and death of Yunfa, Sarkin Gobir, and the capture of Alkalawa, his capital. In this year also Bornu was in-

vaded by Gwoni Muktar, and the Mai of Bornu was driven from his capital of Gasrgomo—a temporary success as the Fulani were driven out later by El Kanemi. Sokoto, the great Fulani capital, was built by the Shehu's son Belo in 1810.

By this time a revolution had been effected in Nupe country—Malam Dendo having established the Fulani power there by overthrowing the Nupe chief Nikako. Gombe and Katagum were likewise brought under Fulani governors. Thus by the end of 1810 the Fulani dominion was firmly established over all the Hausa states, Nupe, Adamawa, and parts of Bornu, and tribute was being paid to Sokoto.

Shehu left the administration of the new empire to his brother Abdulahi and his son Belo; the latter, on his father's death in 1817, became Sarkin Musulmi, or spiritual head of the empire. Abdulahi, with his headquarters at Gando, ruled the eastern half of the empire, while Belo ruled the west from Sokoto, and later from his new capital of Wurno.

Between 1817 and 1823 Ilorin was added to the Fulani empire. Bornu maintained its independence of the Fulani, and was in fact the centre of opposition to the Fulani government. It was to Bornu that Idirisa, the dethroned king of Nupe, appealed for help.

There is no need to follow closely the history of the Fulani administration of northern Nigeria. The empire was loosely organized and the government decentralized, each province being ruled by a governor with autocratic powers. The central government was recognized by the annual payment of tribute to Sokoto or Gando, which were also courts of appeal. The dependent provinces were liable to be called upon to furnish troops.

Rebellions and civil wars were frequent throughout the century, the decline of the religious movement being accompanied by a corresponding weakening of the military spirit. Thus in the early forties civil war raged in Nupeland, and in 1844 a determined but unsuccessful attempt was made by Gobir and Maradi to get rid of the Fulani intrusion. Even in 1830 Lander had noted how slight was the Fulani hold over its provinces. Gobir and Kebbi and many of the pagan tribes were never wholly conquered, and before the arrival of the British the Fulani empire was showing signs of dissolution.

In 1893 the people of Kano were able to defy the authority of the Sarkin Musulmi and choose their own chief. The early simplicity of life had degenerated into a luxurious, showy mode of living and intrigue. The early religious spirit had degenerated into a futile scholasticism, the early military spirit into an unquenchable thirst for slaves, the attempt to satisfy which led to the devastation and economic ruin of the country. Religion had become a mere cloak for pillage.

The conquest of the Fulani states by the British, which had been begun by the Royal Niger Company's defeat of Bida and Ilorin in 1897, was completed by the British Government between 1900 and 1903. Ilorin and Zaria offered no resistance, but Kontagora and Bida assumed an aggressive attitude and were captured in 1901. Kano and Sokoto surrendered in 1903, and by the end of that year there was not a single Fulani province which had not accepted the suzerainty of Great Britain. The non-Fulani empire of Bornu, which had been reduced to a state of anarchy by the wars of Rabeh and his son Fadr-el-Allah, was brought under effective control before the close of 1902.



Fig. 39. Uniform worn by the followers of
Rabeh—Bornu Province



Fig. 40. A market at Kano

IV

ECONOMIC LIFE AND INDUSTRIES

Hunting—Fishing—Pastoral and agricultural conditions—Foods and beverages—Sylvan produce—Bee-keeping—Smelting and smithing—Manufacture of silver-wire and glass—Leather-work—Dyeing and embroidery—Pottery—Spinning and weaving—Preparation of salt—Fire-making.

Hunting. Ethnologists classify primitive peoples in the following economic order: (a) Hunters and gatherers; (b) fishermen; (c) pastoralists; (d) agriculturists. The lowest stage is that of hunting and gathering. In the northern provinces there are no tribes who are entirely dependent on hunting and gathering as a main source of livelihood; but all the tribes contain families of hunters, and most of the tribes have periodic hunting battues, the entire male population of the town turning out to join in the sport. Villages generally have their hunting boundaries, and if one village wishes to hunt on another's preserves it has first to obtain the permission of the other's headman, who would receive a portion of every quadruped killed. In tribes where there is a central authority, such as a tribal "Sarkin Tsafi," or head of the religion, the skins of leopards or lions are regarded as his perquisite. There is generally a leader of the battue, but this does not prevent quarrels and open fighting when the spoils come to be divided. In former times when several villages hunted together, the appropriation by one of animals killed by another, was frequently a *casus belli*, and a raid would be made on the offending town next day.

The method pursued in these battues is generally the

same. Word is sent to the various villages that a hunt will take place on a certain day, usually at the end of the dry season. A central space is burned clear of grass. On the appointed day the villagers, mounted or on foot, encircle the central space, driving into it from the surrounding uncleared bush all the game they can find, which is then easily seen and brought down. The animal killed goes to the man who has been the first to bring it down, but others who had wounded it afterwards also receive a share. Some tribes, *e.g.* the Wajawa, hunt with dogs on the leash. When the game is sighted the dogs are slipped, and there are usually violent disputes as to whose dog has captured the game. With the rise of the Niger many wild animals get entrapped on small islands. These are hunted and harpooned by natives in canoes.

Individual hunters use principally the bow and arrow and spear, lying in wait in trees for the game ; but game-pits, skilfully camouflaged with sticks or mats and a covering of light earth, are often placed on narrow game-tracks or at the end of narrow ravines. These pits are arranged in groups, so that in avoiding or escaping from one the animal falls into another ; they may be anything from ten to twenty feet deep and from three to four feet across. Poisoned spikes are set in the pits. Traps with running nooses are also commonly used by all the tribes. Sometimes, on the outside of these pits, a noose of rope is laid attached to a log of wood, and as the animal steps into the pit he is there held fast by the tightened noose. Another favourite trap is a noose attached to a resilient tree, which is kept in its place by a forked stick holding it to the ground. An animal entering the noose dislodges the stick, and, as the tree flies up, the noose is pulled taut. At each vigorous effort to free himself the animal receives a

blow from the pliant tree. Mr. Matthews has described a trap used by the Nungu, Mada, and Ninzam tribes for catching guinea-fowl. It is a running noose of thin string set on a small cloth platform, so placed that a bird, treading on the platform or pecking at the bait, releases a stick to which the noose is attached. The stick is pulled away by being inserted in some twisted strings, strained by a stout horseshoe-shaped stick, and the noose, catching the bird round the leg or neck, holds it until the trapper comes. There are various other bird-traps with torsion springs, the spring often taking the form of twisted cloth. The Jarawa, and no doubt many other tribes, use arrows with points blunted by a knob of beeswax, for killing birds without injuring their feathers.

Hunting Rites. As a rule, no hunter will follow up any of the fiercer animals which are accompanied by their mates. The killing of a lion in the presence of a lioness would entail disaster for the whole of the surrounding country. The killing of a single lion, even, is a presumptuous act, and has to be followed by expiatory rites, which will be described later on ; for not only is the lion the king of the bush, but he is so closely associated with chieftainship that any one killing him must forthwith beg the pardon of the chief of the tribe. Possibly here we have the idea of the double soul—the soul of the chief being deposited in the body of the lion.

A hunting battue is generally preceded by divinatory rites. Thus among the Waja, the master of the hunt collects the droppings of various game, burns them, and leaves the ashes for the night under a covering of grass and leaves. If, next day, he finds many prints on the ashes he concludes they are the tracks of various animals, and orders the hunt to proceed.

Before the Mumbake go out on their annual hunting drive they clean up the graves of their ancestors, and then lay down their weapons on the graves, beseeching the spirits of the dead to give them prowess with the weapons which their fathers had taught them how to use. On the morning of the hunt the chief goes to the sacred grove with all his senior men, and, holding a sacred branch towards the sun, once again seeks the assistance of the ancestral spirits. Then breaking the branch in two, he throws the halves on the ground, spits on them, and fastens them down with a stone. The Vere have similar rites. The chief priest prays to the sun, then chews a certain vegetable, and spits the fragments all round him. As the hunters return home the women come forth to greet them, singing and dancing the dance of the hunt.

Among some tribes, *e.g.* the Malabu, there is a regular guild of hunters. The members belong to certain families, but any one may be admitted on the payment of a fee. An initiate is taken to the bush and given a lesson in ventry. An incision is made on the back of his left thumb, into which a concoction of a certain bark is rubbed. This will protect him from the attacks of bush spirits, and will also give him a clear eye and steady hand.

Fishing Conditions. The main fishing communities are to be found along the banks of the Benue and Niger rivers, or their tributaries, and also on Lake Chad. But fishermen are to be found in almost every village where there are pools or streams worth fishing. The hill pagan tribes naturally take little interest in fishing, and leave the catching of the small local fish to the women-folk.

In many riverain communities there are numerous individuals who fish occasionally to satisfy their private

wants, but there are entire tribes whose main occupation is fishing, engaging in the pursuit on an extensive scale, with a view to exchanging their fish for other commodities. There are also professional itinerant fishermen, generally Hausa or Nupe, who for certain payments obtain temporary fishing rights from the chiefs of local tribes. The Buduma and Bede are the chief fishermen of Bornu, the Kede and Kakanda on the Niger, the Wurbo and Jukun on the Benue. Fishing is not confined to the main streams of the large rivers. Indeed, the most valuable fishing-grounds are the lagoons and land-locked meres which, during the wet season, become themselves rivers, carrying off the flood-waters of the main stream. Canoes proceeding up stream generally follow these side-rivers on account of the slacker current. As the main stream falls, these meres receive each year a fresh supply of fish.

The fishing rights over the backwaters are jealously guarded by communities, or families, or the holders of certain offices. Generally the rights are vested in families. Strangers may be allowed to fish on certain conditions, but the use by strangers of seine-nets would always be forbidden. In some districts, *e.g.* Yola, owners of rights commonly let their fishing grounds on consideration of receiving fifty per cent. of the catch. In the pre-Fulani days, the Kuta of Mureggi, head of the Kede tribe, controlled all the fishermen on the Niger from Busa to Ida, a proportion of all the fish caught in the pools near the banks of the river being payable to him. He even levied taxes on all passing freight-canoes.

The Fulani did not interfere to any great extent with existing fishing rights. Nominally in the Fulani Emirates the fishing rights were vested in the Emir, and in some of the Emirates there were regular taxes on fish known as

kurdin rua (i.e. water dues) or *kurdin su* (i.e. hand-net dues). Local village headmen or elders also commonly imposed a tax on fish. Thus in some districts of Yola the village elders claimed ten per cent. of all fish caught, plus the catch on one day in each year.

In Sokoto the fishing rights were generally free to the entire community, who at certain appointed times turned out *en masse* to catch the fish. It was customary for each man to present the chief of the village with a portion of his catch.

Types of Houses. Fishing peoples on the Benue and Niger live generally in houses made of woven mats, but many fishing communities build mud-houses on artificial or natural mounds which are clear of the river in flood. Other fishermen make temporary grass-camps on the islands which appear in the rivers when the water is low.

Types of Canoes. There are two notable types of canoes—the Nupe and Kakanda, each of distinct pattern. The Nupe canoe is a rectangular dug-out, with overhanging stem and stern and no gunwales. The Kakanda canoe, which is obtained from the Niger Delta, is an elliptical dug-out with gunwales. This is stiffened with struts, which serve as seats for the paddlers and platforms for the polers. The gunwales are made fast by a line of iron rivets, the seams being caulked with silk cotton. If leaks are sprung they are patched up with pieces of wood and caulked with silk-cotton fibre. A large-sized Kakanda passenger canoe will carry as many as fifty to sixty people.

The Buduma floats of Lake Chad are made of grass, and have curved prows, which give them the appearance of Venetian gondolas. They are made of papyrus-reed bundles about one foot thick, and tied together with string.

The larger floats have taffrails running fore and aft. Their draft is about two feet, and they are propelled by poles. Each float has a flat stone on the prow, on which a fire is kept for cooking, and the larger floats may carry as many as ten head of cattle. The life of a float is a few months only, as it soon becomes water-logged. The Buduma are said to have used wooden canoes in olden days, made by a tribe on the lower reaches of the Shari river.

Fishing Methods. Battues. Communal fish-drives are periodically held. None may fish before the appointed time. When the day arrives each man arms himself with a triangular net, and, at a given signal, all plunge in and sweep towards the middle of the pool, whither the fish are driven. The Buduma use harpoons with a detachable head, a cord being attached to the head of the harpoon and also to the fisherman's arm.

The commonest methods of catching fish are by nets, fences, traps, lines and hooks, spearing, and fish poison.

(a) *Nets.* (1) The large drag-net or seine is the commonest and most profitable method of fishing among the professional Hausa and Kede fishermen. It is little used by the more primitive tribes. The seine may be 75 feet long by 20 feet in depth, with a two or three-inch mesh. It is fitted with floats on the top, and weighted with stones. The number of men required to work the seine varies from three or four to twelve, according to the size of the net. The workers start from the bank and enclose a semi-circular stretch of water. The net is then thrown in from the bank. Two or more seines are often strung together, and one may see Nupe seines 130 fathoms long.

(2) Other drag-nets have a depth of four feet only. The net known on the Benue as the *wailamai* net is 3 feet 6 inches wide, and in length varies from 15 to 30

feet. It is used by night in creeks, and is worked by two men on opposite banks, who drag it along the creek as speedily as possible.

(3) The so-called *Abinsi* net is used at night only. It is fitted with floats, and is not weighted. Its length varies from 30 to 60 feet, and the mesh may be two inches or six inches. It is allowed to drift in shallow water. The surrounding water is beaten by the fishermen, and the fish are in this way driven towards the net.

(4) Drag-nets made of long reeds are commonly used in the meres that flank the Niger. The Batachi especially use these nets. The fish are speared when the net is pulled into the bank. The Jukun used to employ a bag-shaped net, which was dragged after their canoes.

(5) Various hand-nets, such as those used in Europe for shrimping, are employed in fishing swamps and pools. This is also the net commonly used in fishing-drives, one net being held in each hand.

(6) The Igbira use a net (which they call *ahene*) at the outlets of creeks. It is made fast by one end to a tree on one bank. The fisherman then takes his stand in a tree on the opposite bank, and ties the other end of the net to the tree. The net lies below the surface of the water ; but at intervals the fisherman tightens it up, and pulls it clear above the surface of the water. He then goes out in his canoe and removes any fish caught.

(7) The net known as *akuji* on the Benue is a circular stationary dip-net, six or seven feet in diameter. It is operated from the bank, and works on a hinge, being let down into the water by means of a pole and cord. It is weighted round the edge. It is chiefly used in the flood season, when the fish avoid the strong current of the main stream.

(b) *Fences*. The use of fences is an uneconomic method of catching fish. With the rise of the river the fish spread over the shallow inundated areas to spawn. (The fish spawn in July or August.) As the river subsides the fishermen block the outlets to these areas with long low dykes or fences made of reeds, and the fish are caught on the fall of the water by nets, spearing, and the usual basket-traps. Thus large numbers of small fish are prevented from reaching the river, and, although of little value as food, are sold in the markets.

In the north a common method of catching fish in flooded areas is to enclose a shallow part of the area with a hastily constructed mud-wall. At night and in the early morning the encircled fish, expecting to find water on the other side, leap the barrier and are quickly seized by fishermen. The Jukun use a similar method, damming up small creeks and ladling out the water.

In Gombe, and no doubt in many other districts, a drag-net, made of *zana* mats, and weighted at the bottom with stones, is used in the deeper pools. The pool is dragged, and the fishermen then jump into the middle of the encircled fish and seize them with their hands. Those which leap the *zana* fences are caught by men specially detailed for this purpose.

(c) *Traps*. The *ara* trap is a circular hand-thrown net commonly used in shoal water, especially by women and girls. This trap has a hole at the top into which the arm is inserted to extract the fish.

In Kontagora large wicker-cages are commonly placed in streams of an evening while the river is rising. These traps are made fast to stakes driven into the river-bed at low water. Another trap commonly used at the outlets of small creeks or swamps, in conjunction with the reed

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fences, has a larger outer opening. Further on there is a narrow opening leading into a chamber from which there is no escape, thus :

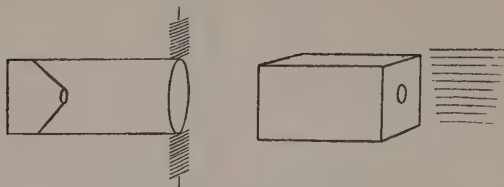


Fig. 41. Sketches of fish traps

A square box-shaped trap made of fibre, and having a concave opening, is much used near the banks of rivers. A trap, with a door like a mouse-trap, is frequently employed by the Igbira and Basa for catching the larger species of fish. It is baited with guinea-corn. If the bait is disturbed the support of the door falls and the fish are trapped.

A common Hausa beehive trap is that known as the *tuwu*. It is six feet deep and is made of reeds. This trap is only used in shallow water. Still another trap is the pear-shaped *gura*, made of palm-fibre. The blunt end forms the entrance to the trap. It has a four-inch mesh, so that only fair-sized fish are caught. The trap may be camouflaged with a covering of reeds.

(d) *Lines*. The night-line known as *marmari* is made of strong cord, to which several hundred metal hooks may be attached. It is used in streams, the ends being made fast to poles stuck into the river-bed. The hooks are not barbed, and are not generally baited. When baited small fry or pieces of fish are used. A *marmari* line may be 50 to 200 feet long. The *dan zubi* is a similar contrivance, about eight yards long and armed with forty or

fifty hooks. It may be left as long as two days in one place, being raised night and morning for inspection. For both these lines English hooks are now frequently used. The Jukun use hooked lines, which are floated by small calabashes.

(e) *Spearing*. Fish are speared at night with the help of flares, a single or double-pronged spear being employed. In some districts, e.g. Wawa district, Kontagora, spearing fish at night is contrary to native custom, and it is believed that any one breaking the custom is liable to blindness.

(f) *Poisons*. The use of poison for fishing purposes is forbidden by Government. All tribes were formerly addicted to this destructive method of obtaining fish. *Strophanthus* was commonly used. The *Tephrosia Vogelii* shrub also provided a favourite poison, the stalks and leaves being sprinkled with water and then beaten to a pulp. Bundles of the poison were thrown into the water, causing the fish to rise to the surface in a moribund condition. They were then speared or caught in nets, women and girls assisting in the netting. Other poisons were obtained from the pods of the locust bean, and of *Cassia* trees, as well as from *Balanites Aegyptica*.

Preparation of Fish. The fish not required for immediate use are cleaned and dried. The Bede of Bornu bury the dried fish in the ground in sealed pots. Sometimes they first pound them to a paste.

The method of drying the fish—a process carried out by professional fish-curiers or by the fishermen themselves (and occasionally by their wives)—is as follows. The fish are cleaned, hung up over a fire, dried in the sun, and smoked again until thoroughly cured. The dried fish will keep in good condition for two months if periodically

resmoked and sunned. As an additional means of preserving them they may be dipped in a mixture of pepper and oil.

In cleaning the fish the scales of the larger fish are first scraped off. Some are even skinned, and others cut up into slabs. Professional fish-curiers use ovens made of mud in which the fish are smoked, a smouldering fire being used, which has to be carefully watched lest it burst into flame. Among some tribes (*e.g.* the Mumbake) it is customary to grind up the dried fish with herbs and mould them into cones. The Jukun do not clean the insides of fish intended for their own use. The flesh of the manatee is often cured and sold. The dried fish are exported to the most remote parts of Nigeria.

Fishing Rites. Religious rites are commonly performed at the beginning of the fishing season. Thus among the Bede the headman of a certain village is put into a fish-trap and held under water by his wife, while he buries a sacred pot in the bed of the river. The young girls of the village stand on the banks, singing chants and offering prayers for a bountiful supply of fish.

Before the rise of the Niger the Kuta among the Kede calls his elders to a council. A large black bull is sent to Kagaji, where it is slaughtered, and a feast is held. Each Kede makes, on his own account, a sacrifice of a chicken, a black goat, and a black dog. These are killed, placed in a pot, and burned; and if the smoke of the sacrifice rises well a propitious season is foreseen. The manatee¹ is sacred to the Kede. The killing and skinning of this fish is ceremonially carried out by a special priestly caste. Women are excluded from the cult. Incidentally we may

¹ To the ancient peoples of Songhai also the manatee was apparently a sacred animal.

note that the Kuta of Kede journeys in a sacred canoe, the prows of which must never touch the bank. No woman may enter it, and if she did she would be stricken with barrenness.

Before leaving the subject of fishing we may remark that the fishing communities suffer a good deal more from sickness than the pastoral or agricultural peoples. Owing to the fact that they live surrounded with mosquitoes and tsetse-fly there is great mortality from malaria and sleeping sickness. The discomfort of living in areas infested by mosquitoes is often almost intolerable, and one may see fishing villages on the banks of the Niger where the inhabitants have to seal themselves up in their huts at sunset.

Pastoral Conditions. A truly pastoral people depends entirely for its means of livelihood on its herds of cattle. The main staple food is milk, and they would sooner die than kill their cattle for meat. Their chief concern is to find suitable grazing grounds, and they are thus nomads. They are always to be found in the belt of parkland which separates the tropical forest from the desert. In the parklands of the northern provinces of Nigeria most of the tribes are cattle-owning; but the characteristic pastorals are the Fulani, who are ubiquitous. Some of the Shuwa and Kanembu tribes of Bornu are also pastoral peoples, but there is a general tendency among these Bedduwai tribes, as also among the Fulani, to adopt a more settled mode of life.

The nomad Fulani, of whom the Abore or Bororo are the most typical, follow the grass—they may be here to-day and gone to-morrow. During the wet season their tendency is to remain in one locality for several months. Their camps, or *rugas* as they are called, are of the

shelter type—rude beehive huts, with frames of sticks covered over with a rough thatch of dried grass. The cattle are herded at night within a zariba of thorns, to protect them from the attacks of wild animals, against whom the pastoral has to wage constant warfare. They are tied together in pairs, with their heads facing different ways. This prevents them from wandering about the camp. Slings made of fibre are used to drive off hyenas at night. The cattle graze in the vicinity of the camp until mid-day, small boys seeing that they do not wander too far afield. They are then taken off to the bush by the young men, and remain there until the evening, being watered wherever water is found. Two men look after a hundred head of cattle. In districts where, in the dry season, the cattle have to be watered from wells, they can hardly be said to be tended, being left to find their own way back to the wells in the evening. But in agricultural centres many additional herdsmen are required, for the owner of crops is not slow to claim compensation in the courts for damage done by cows. Calves are looked after by children during the day. They are tied up when the cows return at night to prevent them draining their mothers of milk. Settled Fulani will often place their cattle in charge of their nomad brothers for the dry season, to go in search of better grass.

The cattle are milked morning and evening, generally by the men and childless women. There are no milking rites, such as are found among many other African tribes. Calabashes are used for catching the milk. These are kept clean by being rubbed with a stone and dried in the sun. The milk is drunk sweet, or sour as buttermilk. The churning is carried out by the women—the churn being a huge calabash with a circular lip, made of plaited



Fig. 42. A Fulani with churn (open)



Fig. 43. A Fulani with churn (closed)

dum-palm fronds sewn on with string, the calabash being pierced to receive the string. Into this lip a smaller calabash is fitted upside down to form a lid. The lid has a small hole as an air-passage. The churn is worked by being rotated backwards and forwards. The butter is separated from the buttermilk and washed. It is used for cooking, and also for anointing the person. Cheese is not generally made, but the more northerly Fulani make a firm cheese which is used as a food in long-distance journeys. A light kind of curd cheese is also made by allowing the milk to stand over-night, boiling it in a pot next day, and finally churning it.

The cattle receive no artificial food, except bran occasionally and natron every month or two. The natron is laid for the cattle on the remains of a broken ant-heap, as this site is thought to confer fertility on the cows. The cattle are subject to pleuro-pneumonia, liver disease caused by a liver fluke, and epidemics of rinderpest. Tsetse-fly belts are avoided. The best grazing ground is on the shores of Lake Chad. Here the Kanembu and Shuwa tribes graze their cattle during the dry season. As a protection from insects the cattle are often shut up by day and allowed out at night to graze. In the wet season they are removed to the uplands. Many of the uninhabited waterless districts of the extreme north—notably in Sokoto Province—are used by pastoral tribes for grazing.

Socially the nomad Fulani are regarded as Ishmaelites ; but the presence of their cattle is generally welcomed by the local inhabitants, who thereby obtain supplies of butter and milk, as well as manure for their fields. The flesh of cattle that have died is also an acceptable addition to the diet of pagan villagers. Disputes between Fulani and

the local inhabitants on the ground of injury to crops are, however, of constant occurrence, and frequently lead to a display of physical force.

The pagan hill-tribes set great store by their sturdy little cattle. They are generally kept in kraals by night and tethered or grazed by day. In the Bauchi highlands the kraals are stone circles attached to the compound. The pagan cattle are seldom sold as butcher-meat, being used principally as currency, or for the bride price, or as part of marriage and funeral feasts. They are never milked, and are said to be immune from sleeping sickness. If this is so, it might indicate that the pagan breed of cattle is indigenous.

Types of Cattle. The distinctive breeds of Nigerian cattle are :

- (a) The small white-humped Fulani cattle—the finest type.
- (b) The long-horned, long-legged humped red Fulani cattle of the north (notably Kano province).
- (c) The big coarse long-horned high-withered *kuri* cattle of Bornu.
- (d) The big-framed, compact, short-legged, small-humped Shuwa animal from the east.
- (e) The small unhumped cattle of the pagan tribes.

The high-withered animals are often mistaken for humped cattle. They are of Egyptian origin, whereas the humped cattle are probably to be connected with the zebu of India and China. The big coarse oxen are used for pack transport, their backs being protected by saddles of plaited grass.

Types of Horses. In speaking of animal types it may not be out of place here to refer to the breeds of horses. The best breed of horse is the Sulebawa, imported from

the north. It is closely akin to the English thoroughbred. The commonest ponies seen, however, are the Barbary ponies imported from Asben country. They are small, and always to be distinguished by the characteristic wisp on the fetlock. The hill pagans possess a characteristic type of small ponies. Their origin is doubtful. They may be a distinctive breed, or a degenerate type of Barbary.

Sheep. The sheep and goats are small. But the Beduwei pastoralists have large-sized sheep which they guard with dogs—a practice which is, I believe, unknown to other Nigerian tribes.

Agricultural Conditions. The transition from pastoral to agricultural conditions has been assumed by ethnologists to connote a corresponding advance in culture. Thus the shelter type of house gives place to the more permanent edifice of mud and thatch, and a settled condition gives scope for the elaboration of the domestic arts. Pastoral conditions are believed to be compatible only with a loose organization ; but societies which have abandoned the nomadic life soon learn to evolve an elaborate system of government and law, which orders the life of every individual down to the smallest detail. The clothing of pastorals, again, is said to be sufficient and no more, as pastorals are dependent on portable looms, whereas in agricultural society it is more than ample, and indeed becomes almost elaborate. Such generalizations would, if applied to the northern tribes of Nigeria, be entirely misleading. The most backward, the most unclothed, the most loosely organized tribes are not the pastoralists we have described, but the animistic tribes who depend entirely for their subsistence on their agricultural activities. Agriculture, indeed, is the dominating pursuit of all the

tribes, whether backward or advanced. All other methods of gaining a livelihood are dependent upon and subsidiary to agriculture. The pagan tribes of the central belt are wholly devoted to it ; the fishing tribes mostly grow their own cereal supplies ; and the more advanced Muslim peoples are agriculturalists first and industrialists second. Many Fulani sub-tribes are in the transition stage, building themselves permanent huts in fertile districts. Their agricultural efforts, however, are often spasmodic and unregulated.

The soil is, on the whole, infertile, and the annual drought, lasting from the middle of October to the middle of April, restricts farming operations to a period of six months only. During these months there is a fairly well-distributed rainfall, but intermittent periods of drought during the rainy season often prove disastrous to the crops, especially in the provinces bordering on French Sudan. In these provinces the soil is generally a sandy loam of no great depth. Among the pagan hill-tribes, inter-tribal wars and the fear of attack by Fulani raiders have, until recently, tended to confine agricultural operations to the immediate vicinity of the hills, where, therefore, terrace cultivation is common. Thus among the Angas one may see hills 800 feet high terraced from bottom to top for the growing of *acha* (*Digitaria exilis*).

The most fertile soil is to be found around the shores and on the islands of Lake Chad, and in the great plains that flank the Benue river. Generally speaking, however, the soil is deficient both in depth and quality. The long dry season and the sudden torrential rains are alike destructive of the supplies of nitrogen stored by the leguminous crops, the leaves of the locust-bean trees, and acacias.

Land being abundant, extensive methods of farming, everywhere prevalent, further add to the general infertility of the land in the neighbourhood of the towns and villages. In crowded areas, where intensive methods are pursued, the ready response to the use of manure is but another sign of the general absence of nitrates.

The production of cereals per acre varies from 400 to 1000 lb. An acre of ground-nuts yields about 2 cwt. of nuts. An acre of tobacco yields about 360 lb. Nigerian farms are small. The average-sized farm in the most fertile parts would not be more than seven acres. In other parts two acres would be an average farm ; while in some of the pagan districts the average farm is little more than a single acre. The main farms are usually at some considerable distance from the villages, the home farms being very small and generally worked by women and boys.

Agricultural Methods. The methods pursued in tilling vary with the climate and with the character of the soil. Thus in the more northerly provinces, where it is important to retain as long as possible the tornado rains, ridge cultivation is the rule, provided the soil is not too sandy. In the southerly provinces, where rains are plentiful, cultivation is in the form of mounds. In the sandy plains of Bornu, where the soil is so light that it is not even necessary to bend down in order to move it, there is the scantiest preparation of the ground. The character of the climate and soil again determines the kinds of cereals grown. Thus the sandy loam of the north favours the growing of bulrush millet ; the heavier soils of the south are suitable for the cultivation of yams ; while among the pagan tribes, compelled so often to grow their crops on hillsides, *acha* (i.e. *Digitaria exilis*) is the staple food. Guinea-corn millet (*Sorghum vulgare*), being easily grown

under all the conditions of parkland country, is the most universal cereal.

Hausa Methods. The Hausa method of cultivation is by means of small ridges thrown up at intervals of three or four feet by means of hand-hoes. The first two strokes of the hoe displace two sods, which are turned over to form the base of the ridge, the third stroke deepens the furrow still further, and the earth removed is used to cap the ridge and enrich the underlying soil. The ridge becomes the furrow next year. The making of the furrows is known as *kufurtu*. Subsequent cultivation is confined to three well-defined stages of hoeing. In sowing the farmer takes one step towards the right with the right foot, makes a small hole in the ground with his hoe, drops in four or five seeds, and returns the soil. With his left foot he steps out to the left and repeats the process. Seeds are thus planted about three yards apart. Women and children often assist at sowing, depositing the seed in the hole made by the farmer, and then replacing the soil. The first stage of hoeing, in ridges eighteen inches apart, is known as *noman firi* (= "dry weather tilling"), and takes place about three weeks after sowing—the edges of the ridge being removed with a small hand-hoe. The young shoots are then thinned. The second stage, known as *maimai* (= "the repetition"), takes place a month later, and consists in adding, with a small hand-hoe, fresh soil to the base of each plant. The final stage, a few weeks before the corn is ripe, is known as *huda* (= "the digging"). Earth is taken from the furrow with a large hoe, and heaped plentifully round the base of each plant.

The crops are reaped with an adze, the heads being cut off with a sickle or knife. Several crops are generally grown together—an economic method, for as each crop



Fig. 44. A Katsina Hausa with hoe—Kano Province



Fig. 45. Jarawa (mother and son) at work in the fields—Bauchi Province

has its own particular plant-food the yield per acre is considerably increased. Moreover, the crops can be harvested at different times, and the farmer can feel that he has not put all his eggs in one basket. Thus guinea-corn is commonly planted with bulrush millet, being sown in rows at right angles to each other. The bulrush millet is harvested about three months after sowing, but the guinea-corn is not ready until two months later.

Cow-peas and ground-nuts are next in importance to the millets, the sandy plains of the north being especially suited for the latter. They may be planted with the millets or separately. Their use as a restorative for the soil is well understood. Maize, sweet potatoes, cassava, artichokes (*gwaza*), peppers, bitter tomatoes, pumpkins, rice, tobacco, henna, indigo, and cotton are commonly grown. Gourds are cultivated for the making of calabashes. Among fibres are the *Hibiscus lunarifolius*. Many other valuable fibres are cultivated.

Indigo is widely grown, and requires a strong loamy soil capable of retaining moisture during the dry season. The indigo farm lasts for several years without being replanted. The tops are picked twice, or even three times a year—the second crop generally being the best. The harvested crop is left on the ground until fermentation takes place. The leaves are then stripped off and dried in the sun. Nigerian indigenous cotton, it may be remarked, is mostly of the Peruvian variety, though *Arboreum*, *Punctatum*, and *Obtusifolium* are also found.

Yoruba Methods. The Yoruba practise mound-cultivation, and their distinctive staple crop is yams. Seed-yams are taken out of the ground about the beginning of December and stored either in the farmer's house until seed-time, or in a mound on the farm (in which case they

are laid on ashes as a protection against white ants). Seed-yams are planted whole or cut up into sections. There are various varieties of yams, and several varieties may be planted on a single farm in separate rows. A farmer makes his mounds (at the rate of fifty or sixty a day) well before the rains begin. A covering of straw, held in position by a stone or piece of clay, is often deposited on the top of this mound as a protection against evaporation of moisture. As the shoots appear they are propped on sticks to prevent them being withered by the heat radiated from the soil.

Bornu Cultivation. In Bornu, where there are vast sandy plains, the soil, though easily exhausted, is surprisingly fertile for the growing of bulrush millet—the staple crop. The ground is scarcely prepared. There is no ridge cultivation, the seed being pushed into the ground with the toe of the foot. Hoeing is done largely by means of the *hauya* or *kworemi*, which is pushed in front from a standing position (and would thus seem to be an implement intermediate between a hoe and a plough).

Reference has already been made to the fertility of the Chad region. As the water of the lake recedes, towards the end of February successive belts of land are planted out with tobacco, beans, and various other crops, which are harvested before the next rise. Cotton is grown above the high-water line, either with or without irrigation. The dry-season millet known as *masakwa* is a product confined almost entirely to Bornu. It is planted towards the end of the rains in heavy water-logged soil, and is harvested about Christmas.

Pagan Cultivation. *Digitaria exilis*, which is seldom grown in Hausaland, is a staple cereal with the pagans.



Fig. 46. Terrace cultivation—Angas tribe—
Bauchi Province



Fig. 47. A Berom girl with hoe—Bauchi Province

But among some pagan tribes, *e.g.* Bachama and Bata, *Digitaria* is not known, and this may indicate that these tribes belong to a separate culture complex. The terrace cultivation of the pagan tribes has already been referred to, the soil being formed into ridges on the hill-side and the furrows banked across, forming troughs to hold the rain. Pagans are also great growers of tobacco.

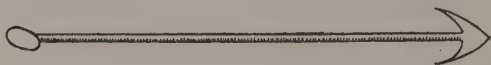
The pagan tribes of the central and southern belt practise the mound type of cultivation, but where Hausa influence has penetrated the ridge formation is commonly seen. Among the Jukun, for example, mound cultivation is the indigenous method, but ridge cultivation is now frequently seen, and must be ascribed to the influence of the Abakwariga or pagan Hausa from the north.

Rotation of Crops. The life of a farm cultivated on the extensive system varies from three to eight years. After this it lies fallow for a number of years. Some farmers extend the life of the farm by cultivating ground-nuts for two years in succession. Others will continue to cultivate exhausted farm-land for the sake of protecting the economic trees on the farm. In the southern districts yams and beans are commonly planted in the first and third years, millet or maize in the second and fourth years. On a cotton-farm yams or beans would be grown in the second year, the farm being abandoned after the third harvest.

Among pagan tribes, *e.g.* the Angas, *Digitaria exilis* (*acha*) followed by *Pennisetum spicatum* (*dauro*) is a common rotation. The Dakakari rotation is guinea-corn followed by *Digitaria exilis*. The Ngamo of Bornu, and Mbula and Mumbake of Yola, do not seem to follow any fixed system of rotation. The Kugama grow guinea-corn and beans one season, and follow these with ground-nuts

the next. The Mumuye grow guinea-corn and *Pennisetum spicatum* for three successive years. In the fourth year the earth is dug deeper and yams are planted in mounds, two crops being raised annually. The Munshi rotation is maize and yams and cotton for the first year, guinea-corn and cotton the second, and beniseed and cotton the third. The Toni rotation is *Sorghum* millet for two years in succession, then *Digitaria*.

Farming Implements. For light hoeing all tribes use the small adze hand-hoe known in Hausaland as the *fatainya*. The shaft is about a foot and a half long, and the blade, set at right angles to the shaft, is five to ten inches broad and five to seven inches deep. It is fitted by the tanged method. For the heavier work various-shaped large hoes known as *galma* are used ; but where the soil is sandy, the long-shafted *hauya*, worked from an erect position, is the common farming implement of the northern districts. Thus in Bornu, and by the Daurawa, Katsinawa, Gobirawa, and Zamfarawa, the *hauya* is most commonly employed. It is shaped thus :



As we advance towards the south the soils become increasingly heavier, and heavier types of hoes are used, each district employing a characteristic type. The differences can best be illustrated by the rough sketches on the next page.

The wooden handle is generally set at an angle of 45° to the blade, but one may see pagan hoes (e.g. the Makangara) where the angle is as sharp as 15° . The handles are generally fitted to the blades by the socketing method, but Yoruba hoes are commonly tanged ; while among many

of the pagan tribes (*e.g.* the Angas and Sura) the handles are made fast to the iron midrib by a fibre binding. The Angas woman's hoe is peculiar. The blade-head runs into the angle of the shaft, the shaft-head overlapping the top of the blade. The Jukun large hoe is similarly fitted, and bears a resemblance to hoes used by the ancient Egyptians.

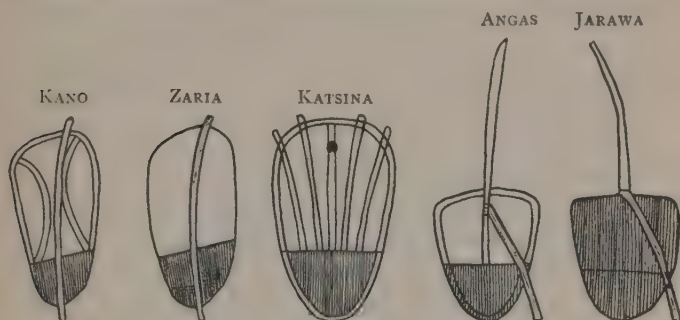


Fig. 48. Sketches of hoes

Tanged axes are used for breaking up rough ground, and adzes for severing the corn-stalks at harvest. A long-hafted adze is also commonly employed as a hoe—the shaft being made of bamboo about four feet long. For sowing, long-handled dibbles are commonly used in Hausaland. Digging-sticks are not employed in farming, but are frequently used when holes have to be made in stony ground. The head is of iron and is socketed. The shaft is made of wood. Some digging-staves are made wholly of metal. For reaping, sickles and knives are used.

Manures. The value of manures is well understood by all the tribes. On virgin farms wood-ash is obtained from the trees which have been cut down and burnt *in situ*. But as land is generally plentiful—virgin farms being taken up when the old ones have been worked out—it is

only around the larger towns that farmers depend to any great extent on the use of manures. Cow-dung mixed with ashes is a favourite manure ; and Fulani cattle are, for this reason, generally welcomed in the vicinity of villages and towns, the cattle-owners or herdsmen frequently receiving small payments of food and money from farmers for the services rendered by the cattle. Thirty cattle will adequately manure a $2\frac{1}{2}$ acre farm in one month. Sheep and goats are also of great use in manuring the small farms that border the villages.

In Kano the Jakara river is the *Cloaca maxima* of the city, and the soil taken from the bed of the river in the dry season is commonly used as farm manure. Bird and bat droppings, the sweepings of houses, and even the contents of latrines are also collected and sold as manure.

Some tribes, *e.g.* the Dakakari, use a top dressing of ashes obtained from burning down corn-stalks and bean foliage in the dry season. The Mbula farmer sows his seeds among the grass, which he subsequently cuts down and leaves on the ground to act as manure.

Irrigation. The crowded condition of many of the urban areas has taught the Hausa and Beri-beri (Bornu) native the value of a more intensive system of cultivation, of manures, and of the irrigation of crops. The irrigation method employed is that of the hydraulic *shadouf*, and is an obvious importation from Egypt. Water is raised from streams or shallow wells by means of a bucket attached to the end of a pole, which is levered on a cross-beam of wood. The other end of the pole is weighted with a slab of dried mud, causing the pole in its rest position to stand erect. For the raising of the water from the stream the bucket is drawn down by hand. The weight of the mud-slab causes the pole to raise automatically the bucket filled

with water, which is distributed over the farm by means of rectangular channels. Wheat, rice, tomatoes, onions, and sugar-cane are usually irrigated crops.

In Bornu, indigo and cotton are commonly sown among onions ; so that for the first few months they derive the benefit of the irrigation. When the onions are picked, however, the *shadowuf* is moved elsewhere. The great value of irrigated crops to the large towns during the dry season is apparent.

Rice is grown in swamps by many pagan tribes without any regular system of irrigation. Primitive methods of irrigation have, however, been observed in various pagan areas. Thus the Niger islanders of the Yauri district scoop holes in the banks and fill them with water when the river is at its height. This water is then transferred to other holes higher up the bank, until finally it reaches the farms which overlook the river. Some pagan tribes are now beginning to adopt Hausa irrigation methods during the dry season.

Farm Pests. The Nigerian farmer has not merely to contend against drought conditions, but against the depredations of birds, game, and attacks of blights. Small boys are employed on farms to drive away birds ; slings are commonly used for this purpose. Lines of calabashes are also made fast to trees. The small boys pull these at intervals, and the clattering of the calabashes drives away the pest. Scarecrows are common. The depredations of wild animals have an enormous effect in restricting the extension of farming operations. Thus in the wooded areas of the south one may see fertile districts where, owing to the presence of large troops of monkeys, the average farm is less than one acre. The richness of the land round Lake Chad is largely discounted by the devas-

tation wrought by elephants and other large game, as until recently this was a protected game area.

Periodically, also, swarms of locusts, so dense as to hide the setting sun, descend upon the farms of a village, and, for all the beatings of calabashes and pots and the lighting of fires, will not leave a single blade of corn untouched. Other pests are porcupines, cane-rats, bush-fowl, antelopes, hawks, and wart-hogs. Hedgehogs are sometimes such pests that farmers surround their crops with ditches which have vertical walls.

The millets are susceptible to blights, guinea-corn in particular being commonly attacked by *aphis sorghi*.

Fences. Hedges and fences are not generally required for farms in the bush, but they are necessary near the villages to keep out cattle and goats and to prevent disputes as to the farm boundaries. The common farm-hedge is the physic-nut shrub, but *Euphorbia lateriflora* (Hausa *fida sartse*) is also used. Cactus hedge is commonly employed near Kano to mark off the farms from one another. Temporary fences are made of thorn branches, or the stalks of guinea-corn, or bulrush millet. Pagan tribes generally surround their farms and villages with cactus hedges. Among the hill-tribes the stones found on the farm are often collected and made into walls. Small walls of earth are also used in the north to mark the boundaries of farms.

The Harvested Crop. The grain of the harvested crop may be beaten free of the stalk in the fields, or this may be done at home in the villages as the corn is required. This latter is the Fulani and Hausa method. The women separate the grain from the stalks by pounding in mortars. Barke women thresh the corn by beating it with thin canes. So do the Siri, Jimbum, and Miya.



Fig. 49. Threshing corn at Forum—Bauchi Province



Fig. 50. Winnowing corn at Forum -Bauchi Province

Figs. 49, and 50 are from negatives kindly lent by Mr. Suthll of the Sudan United Mission.

The chaff is winnowed off by pouring the unsifted corn from one calabash, held above the head, into another. As the corn falls the woman walks forward against the wind ; or assistants may produce currents of air by operating fans. Among the Kanuri the women generally beat out the corn in mortars in the fields. The process of winnowing is also carried out in the fields, the sifted grain being carried home in baskets. Most of the pagan tribes use half their millet for the brewing of beer, which is by them not merely regarded as a pleasant beverage, but as the most nourishing and necessary part of their diet.

Granaries. Corn may be stored temporarily in the fields in grass bins ; but the permanent bins in the villages are made of mud, or mud and thatch. (In Bornu, however, the bins are frequently of grass only.) Among the Arago the granaries are of matting, and raised on poles as a protection against white ants, vermin, and floods. Bins are built on a foundation of stones overlaid with sticks and grass. The walls are commonly surrounded by mats to protect them from the rain.

Among some of the Plateau tribes (*e.g.* Angas) the corn on being brought from the fields is deposited for threshing on a large flat rock, which is surrounded by circular walls of stone and mud. I have seen these stone circles still standing in districts where their use was no longer understood. The walls are built round to prevent the corn being blown away by the wind. Pagan farmers may have as many as fifteen bins in a compound. Among the Plateau tribes some of the bins occupy, like a funnel, the centre of the dwelling-house. Others are separate buildings scattered over the compound. They are approached from a narrow hole in the top, covered by a mud lid and

a removable umbrella-like thatch. In Bornu (*e.g.* among the Bede) grain is stored in ground-pits lined with mats. The Kanuri line their grain-pits with corn-stalks, and add ashes as a protection against vermin. This practice, common also among the Bantu tribes of Africa, is an obvious safeguard against fire and war.

Fulani granaries are baskets raised on tripods, plastered with clay, and covered over with thatch.

The Munshi commonly leave their millet standing on platforms throughout the dry season, removing it to bins at the beginning of the rains. They store their yams in pits protected with grass shelters. The corn-bins of the Toni in Nasarawa are peculiarly built. There is the central cylindrical bin nine feet high. Around it are six or seven smaller bins, about five feet high, which support the outer edge of the roof, the intervening spaces being used for cooking and grinding corn. The men have charge of the large inner bins, the smaller bins containing the women's supplies.

Farm Labour Conditions. Farms are generally worked on the family system. But periodic co-operation (Hausa *gaya*) is common among all the tribes, a man's friends turning out in a body to help him when the work is heavy. These helpers receive no payment beyond their food and bountiful supplies of beer, but they expect similar assistance when their own crops are ready. Among many tribes it is customary for the men to give free service on the chief's farm for one or two days each year. Among the Jarawa, agricultural work is commonly carried out on a communal system under a Director of Farming Operations. Suitors for a daughter's hand, among most tribes, are required to work for considerable periods on the farm of their prospective father-in-law. The Dakakari

suitor, for example, has to work for from three to six seasons, producing each season a basket of corn equal to the value of one goat. In the Muslim districts the labour was formerly largely carried out by slaves (who also had small farms which they worked on their own account). Slave labour is still common in Hausaland and Bornu, but hired-labour is taking its place—the labourer receiving free food and a wage of perhaps 700 cowries a day. The labourers may themselves be farmers who have for the time being nothing to do on their own farms.

Women usually join in all farming work except the heavier forms of hoeing and reaping. The small home farms near the villages are generally worked by women and children. Barke women have no separate farms except the patches of ground-nuts near the houses. Generally speaking, we may estimate the farm-work of the women at about twenty per cent. of the total. Among the Bolewa, women are expected to work for three or four days a week on their husbands' farms, and the remaining three on their own farms. Women among the Tera, Jera, Hina, Babur, Bura, and Bata work three days out of seven on their husbands' farms. Angas women go to the fields several hours after their husbands, bringing with them the morning meal and returning home early in the afternoon. Paiem, Gwari, Yoruba, Nupe, and Wurkum women do not usually work in the fields ; and among some of the Bolewa sub-tribes women are exempted from field-work. Among the Mada reaping and planting are done by men only. Among the Ngizim and Keri-Keri this is done by the women. Among the Mumuye the men grow the guinea-corn and yams, and the women the *maiwa* millet. Weavers often grow their own cotton and dyers their own indigo.

Agricultural Rites. The custom of eating the first-fruits sacramentally is common amongst all pagan tribes. None may eat of his crop until formal thanks have been given through the religious chief, who is himself the first to partake. A distinction, however, is frequently drawn between crops harvested by men and those of the women. Thus among the Angas and other hill-tribes the women reap their crops and proceed without further ceremony to make them into flour and food.

Among the Iyashi, on the day the crops are harvested all fires are extinguished, pots are cleaned, and all the men wash ceremonially. Those tribes which practice ancestor-worship frequently offer the first-fruits to the spirits of the departed. The Igbara, for example, hang bunches of the new grain over the burial-places in their huts.

Among the southern tribes the feast of the new yams is celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. While the crops are still in the field, games are played as magical ceremonies to promote fertility, and even in the Muslim districts, in times of drought, the young people will alternately dance and sing and pray to Allah for rain.

Among the Dakakari, when the corn is about one foot high, the farmer makes on his farm an offering of beer and food to the spirits, and various other rites are carried out later.

The Mumbake chief formally cuts the first corn, smearing the reaping knife with the juice of the tiger-lily root.

It is generally true to say that the religious life of the community centres round the crops, and it will therefore be more appropriate to describe the agricultural rites when we deal with the subject of religion. It may, however, be noted here that good Muslims make an offering of a tithe of their crops to needy malams and the blind.

Foods. The foods of the people vary with their environment, and as foods affect character, we again see the ethnological significance of environment. The tribes of the south are yam and cassava eaters ; those of the central belt and the north are millet eaters. Freedom of inter-communication is now to some extent affecting the food customs of the people. Thus Hausa, who formerly knew not the yam, frequently use yams imported from Yorubaland, and many Hausa have even taken to cultivating yams where the condition of the soil permits. *Per contra*, the sweet potato of the north was formerly not cultivated by the Yoruba or Nupe, nor was the sugar-cane. Rice was until recent times unknown to the pagan tribes.

In the sandy plains of Bornu, Sokoto, and Katsina bulrush millet is the staple food. In the stronger soils of Kano guinea-corn millet is commoner. Among the pagan tribes, so often forced to take refuge in the hills, *Digitaria exilis* and guinea-corn are the main articles of diet. But a few pagan tribes who were able to maintain themselves in the plains grow guinea-corn chiefly.

The Yergum, inhabiting a fertile stretch of country along the banks of the Benue, grow bulrush millet in preference to the usual guinea-corn or *Digitaria*—a fact which may have some ethnological significance.

Again, among the fisher-tribes of the Niger and Benue fish is the staple diet. The Buduma of Lake Chad live principally on fish, milk, guinea-corn, or bulrush millet. They eat the roots of water lilies, and also grind the seeds into flour.

Fulani eat the flesh only of animals that chew the cud. Their principal food is sour milk, to which salt is occasionally added.

The classes of food which are not eaten for ritual reasons

will be discussed later under social organization. Reference should, however, be made here to the various tabus which are put on women in the matter of diet. Customs originating, no doubt, with the male members of the community, proscribe the use of many of the more palatable foods to women on the ground that they would render women barren or injure the unborn child. Thus enceinte Hausa women will not eat eggs or camel's flesh. Dukawa women are not allowed any flesh except that of antelope or buffalo. Kagoro women still capable of bearing children are not allowed to eat chicken or dogs, but old women are not bound by this restriction. Among the Mumuye the flesh of dogs, goats, and monkeys is forbidden to women at all times.

Nigerian Muslims do not eat pig of any species, nor as a rule the flesh of hyenas, dogs, monkeys, donkeys, horses, bats, rats, vultures, jerboa, frogs, chameleons, crows, white herons, crested cranes or serpents (python excepted), or of any animal that has died a natural death.

Pagans observe many food restrictions for reasons connected with totemism or ancestor worship (which we shall discuss later). But apart from this they eat all manner of foods, including meat green with putrefaction. The Kagoro are fond of soup made from boiling rats, mice, and bats, and seasoned with millet ashes. Frogs and chameleons are generally avoided as food by all pagan tribes, and hyenas are not eaten on the ground that they feed on human corpses. Some pagan tribes (notably the Basa, Ngamo, Dakakari, Warji, Chamba, Kagoro, Keri-Keri, Yagba, Yoruba, and Mumuye) have a penchant for dog's flesh.

In times of famine roots and the seeds of the *Pennisetum distichum* may be used as food.

Method of Eating. In eating the food the right hand is generally employed by all the tribes—the junior person holding the calabash and the senior dipping first. Fulani are said to have used spoons in former times, but they do not follow this practice now to the same extent. Kagoro men use spoons, but they do not accord this privilege to their women-folk.

The Preparation of Foods. The staple food of the Yoruba is yams pounded into balls, and eaten with soup or palm-oil. He eats meat cut up into small pieces, and stewed with vegetables seasoned with onions and red pepper. This with boiled yam is a favourite dish. Cassava or manioc in various forms is a common article of diet among the Yoruba, and its use has spread northwards in recent times. The Yoruba is also fond of a gruel made from soured maize meal.

Hausa, Fulani, and Beri-Beri make a thick porridge (Hausa *tu*) from guinea-corn, bulrush millet or maize flour. The Nupe makes his principally of maize, while most of the pagans depend on *acha* or guinea-corn. The porridge is eaten with a soup (made from the leaves of the monkey-bread tree or the silk-cotton tree, from the leaves of the *Corchorus (turgunuwa)* herb, from ochra, from pumpkins and spinach, from the stalk of the *Grewia mollis (dargaza)*, or from the leaves and fruit of the *yakua* (a *Hibiscus*). Fish or meat may be added to the gravy.

Another favourite food is a thick porridge made into balls from bulrush or *Pennisetum spicatum* millet (*maiwa*). It is known as *fura*, and is improved if eaten with sour milk. A light porridge known as *kunu* is also made from *maiwa* millet. Some pagan tribes (e.g. the Warjawa, Bolewa, Ngamo, Keri-Keri, and Ngizim) make their porridge from the flour of the monkey-bread tree, mixed

with that of guinea-corn and the ground grains of the *Sesamum Indicum*. Salt is added to most cooked dishes, and where it cannot be obtained (as among many pagan tribes) ashes are used instead.

Various dishes made from beans are eaten by all the tribes, natron generally being added as a preventive against flatulence. The most favoured dish is the porridge known to the Hausa as *wasawasa*. The ground beans are mixed with the ground leaves and fruit of the monkey-bread tree, a little water being added. The mixture is then dried and boiled, and left until required. It remains fit for use for almost any length of time. This dish is commonly taken by a bride to the bridegroom's home.

Ground-nut oil is generally used for culinary purposes. The nuts are roasted and pounded in a mortar. The pulpy mass is then boiled, and as the oil rises to the surface it is skimmed off. The residue is made into ground-nut cakes by being boiled with a little of the ground-nut oil which is drained off through a perforated pot, the usual form of sieve.

Other foods are made with wheat. Such are the wheaten buns of Bornu and Hausaland. The wheat for these buns is pounded in a mortar, sifted and dried in the sun. Pepper, salt, tamarind juice, and water are added, and the whole is then baked. They are known as *gurasa*, and do not keep overnight.

Talia is a macaroni-like mixture of wheat and ground-nut oil, and is cooked with meat and spices. *Pinkasso* is wheat, potash, tamarind juice, ground-nut oil, and salt, mixed and boiled in a pot. *Dasisi* are wheaten cakes made with honey-water.

Wheaten foods and rice are the staple diet of the Muslim

chiefs. To eat millet would be beneath their dignity. Rice is now a favourite dish with all. But until recently rice was considered the prerogative of chiefs, and was grown almost entirely for their consumption. The spread of rice cultivation in recent years, even to remote pagan districts, is an interesting example of the introduction of foreign crops. Cassava is another general food whose varied use is now only being gradually appreciated by the pagan tribes.

A kind of molasses is made from the fruit of the *taura* (*Detarium Senegalense*), *dinya* (*Vitex Cienkowski*), and *kaiwa* (African ebony) trees, as well as from sugar-cane. The constituent used is pounded and placed in a basket, underneath which is a pot. Water is poured in and drains through the pot. This liquid is then boiled, and is known to the Hausa at this stage as *madi*. If the boiling process is continued, the liquid coagulates into a candy known as *alewa*. *Alewa* is the favourite sweetmeat. It may also be made from boiled honey.

Kola-nuts are commonly eaten between meals on account of their stimulating qualities ; and they are regarded as promoting pleasant social intercourse in much the same way as tea, coffee, and alcoholic beverages in European countries. Tobacco is also commonly smoked and chewed, except by the stricter Muslims. To the Jukun, however, tobacco is anathema.

The Consumption of Foods. Among tribes professing the Muslim religion the men eat their food apart from the women, the tabu being especially strict between a husband and his first wife for the first four years of married life. This is also the custom among most of the pagan tribes, but among others the men eat with the women. Frequently, however, they may not eat certain foods

together. Thus an Idoma man will not eat chicken with an Idoma woman. Jukun grown-up men will not eat in the presence of their women at all, and so strict is this tabu that it has far-reaching effects on their social life. Every Jukun husband has a *kunguni*, or a special "hut" secluded by plaited grass mats, where he consumes his food. In no circumstances may his wife enter this hut. The very mention of food is tabu to a Jukun; and when he is going to eat he will say he is going to drink, or that he is entering his *kunguni*. The food of the Jukun chiefs is cooked by men and not by women. Food cooked by a woman during her menses is generally tabu, unless the person for whom it is intended has a special remedy against the evil that would result.

Muslims and many pagans will not eat food cooked by women who have become mothers until forty to sixty days after childbirth. Again, no Muslim man will, as a rule, eat food cooked by a woman with whom he is "living," but to whom he is not properly married. The danger of such a woman being used to poison him is possibly the reason for this custom.

Seniors do not have meals with grown-up juniors, but grandparents commonly eat in the presence of young grandchildren. The head of a household usually takes his food by himself. A chief eats alone or with his grandson, and only of food cooked by his favourite wife—the fear of poison being again the reason. The Fulani Emirs do not eat the millets, nor will they touch goat's flesh.

There are two principal meals in the day for all the tribes—in the early morning and in the evening. Those who are better off may have an additional meal about two in the afternoon. A man who goes out to farm will take a little sustenance before starting, and a more nourishing meal

on the farm about midday. Meat is eaten only at the evening meal. Snacks, such as honey-cakes or fruit, are eaten at odd times of the day.

Beverages. Beer brewed from the millets, and palm-wine made from the sap of the oil, fan, and bamboo palms, are commonly drunk by all the non-Muslim tribes. Another favourite beverage is made from rice and honey (*beso*). The tamarind provides a refreshing drink.

Among most of the pagan tribes millet beer is regarded not merely as a beverage but as a food. The beer is brewed by the women in the following way. The grain is soaked in cold water for one day. The water is then strained off through a wicker strainer, and the grain is left to stand covered with leaves. It is now put in running water for four days, and when the corn has burst it is thoroughly dried in the sun and ground. The flour is then deposited in pots, and boiled in water for one day. The liquid is transferred to other pots, and allowed to cool. It is then strained, and again boiled for two more days, after which it is ready for use. When it is drunk the head of the household first partakes himself, and then hands round a calabash of the beer to guests in order of seniority.

Among the Jarawa a son-in-law drinks simultaneously with his father-in-law, and from the same bowl. Some of the pagan tribes, *e.g.* the Tangale, drink the melted fat of oxen.

Industries. We have seen that in Nigeria the pursuit of agriculture is not in itself any criterion of superior culture. It is only in the higher stages, where agriculture is performed by a section of the community and the remainder are freed for intellectual and industrial pursuits, that we find any notable advance in civilization. In this direction slavery has played an important part. By

freeing large sections of the community from farm work it has encouraged economic differentiation and the formation of large industrial and intellectual centres. Thus it is among the slave-owning peoples of Hausaland and Bornu that we find the greatest economic and intellectual development.

Specialization is, however, also largely dependent on inter-communication. In the pagan-hill districts, where one community has little to do with another, no large economic development was possible. The free inter-communication recently made practicable by the security given by British rule, if it does not lead to the absorption or extinction of the pagan tribes, will have far-reaching effects in this matter of industrial specialization. Hausa traders and industrialists are penetrating everywhere, and from them the pagan tribes are learning such arts as dyeing and weaving.

Principal Industries. The main indigenous industries in Nigeria are the collection and treatment of sylvan products, smelting and smithing, dyeing, spinning, weaving, matmaking and basketry, tanning and leatherwork, and the preparation of salt.

Sylvan Produce. The collection and treatment of sylvan produce is a suitable subject to deal with first in passing from agriculture to a review of the industries. The principal economic trees are the oil-palm, the shea-butter, and the locust-bean trees. These trees are protected, and the right to their use is hereditary in all districts. Thus a family may abandon its claim to a farm, but it will never abandon its claim to the economic trees on that farm. In districts, however, where the shea-butter trees are plentiful, this rule does not apply, but it has universal application as regards the oil-palm and locust-beans. In some

districts (*e.g.* Igbira of Keffi and Lafia) the village headman claimed to own the oil-palms and extracted royalties for their use.

Shea-Nuts. The Shea is an oleaginous tree characteristic of northern Nigeria. The product of the nut, or shea "butter" as it is called, is of great economic value locally as food, for the making of soaps and illuminants, for cooking purposes, and as an ointment. In Europe it is used for making candles, for engine-grease, and for various other purposes. The nuts are collected in May and June by the women. The shells are broken with stones or a pestle, and the kernels removed, dried in the sun, and beaten in a mortar for four or five hours until reduced to a reddish-brown pulp. The pulp is further ground down between two stones, the liquid mass falling into a pot beneath. Water is added, and as the oil comes to the top it is skimmed off and then boiled for three or four hours. The scum which collects on the surface during the process of boiling is periodically removed. The "butter" is then transferred to a calabash, where it is left to stand for the night. This method of making shea-butter is frequently varied. Thus the Hausa often begin by boiling the nuts and then extracting the kernels. The work is always done by women. Some of the pagan tribes, *e.g.* the Munshi, do not use their shea-trees. Shea-butter trees are sometimes tapped for their red-gutta percha.

Soap. Soap is made from shea-butter by the following method. A pot, with holes perforated in the bottom, is placed over another. The upper pot is then filled with wood-ash, to which water is added. The water filters through the ash into the pot below. This ash-water is then boiled down until only a thick precipitate is left.

The shea-butter is then stirred in. When cool it is kneaded into small lumps.

The distribution of the shea-butter tree is interesting. It is the characteristic tree of the drier savannah park lands, being seldom seen in hilly country or within the forest belt.

Oil-Palms. Oil-palms, on the other hand, belong to the forest belt. They are never seen in the northern districts. Patches of oil-palms occur in the central belt; but it is only in the regions bordering on the Southern Provinces that we find extensive forests of these trees.

Palms in the vicinity of the villages are individually owned, but palms in the bush are generally regarded as the common property of the village. Custom in this respect varies a good deal, and the subject will be dealt with later under the heading of land tenure.

The economic products of the oil-palm are :

- (a) The oil commonly known as *main ja*, or "red oil," obtained from the outer fleshy pulp of the nut.
- (b) A coarse lard known as *alayedí* (used as an ointment or illuminant, and drunk as an aperient).
- (c) The illuminant known to the Yoruba as *gudubi*.
- (d) Palm-wine.
- (e) The kernels exported to Europe.
- (f) The broken nut-shells used by women for making into girdles.

It is to be noted that if the lard is made the kernels are of no further use, and that if a palm-tree is fully bled for palm-wine the quality of the kernels is affected.

The red oil (*main ja*) is obtained (a) by boiling the nuts for a whole day, or (b) by treading down the nuts in pits, kneading them, and drawing off the oil through a sieve.

The sediment left is dried in the sun, fried, and pounded. This expresses the black oil or *alayedî* mentioned above. The number of heads produced by an oil-palm per year varies greatly, but the average may be put at five.

The Munshi are stated to be ignorant of the art of making palm-oil.

Locust-Trees. The seed of the locust-bean tree (Hausa *Dorowa*) is universally used for providing the *dodowa* sauce, or chief ingredient of the soup which is eaten at every meal. The yellow covering of the seed is also utilised for making a kind of porridge, while from the shell of the pod is made the *makuba* juice which is smeared on the walls of houses to render them waterproof.

Other Economic Trees are the deleb- and dum-palms. The leaves of the deleb are used for thatching and the making of mats, and the trunk provides the ant-proof logs used in house-building. The germinating shoots known as *muruchi* are considered a delicacy, and in times of famine have saved thousands of lives. They also provide a yellow dye.

The dum-palm fronds provide the most pliant straw for the making of mats, hats, bags, and baskets. In Bornu the fronds are used as fuel for salting, being almost the only fuel available except grass and dung.

Bamboo-palms provide palm-wine, and poles for house building and for the poling of canoes. The leaves are commonly used for making head and shoulder coverings to keep off the rain.

Rubber-trees are common, and the collection of rubber is generally carried out by itinerant Hausa. Incisions are made in the bark of the tree: the coagulated latex is collected in calabashes, and sold in balls in the markets or to European firms.

The Beri-beri of Bornu obtain salt from the ashes of the *Caparis Aphylla*.

The tamarind tree provides from its fruit a juice which is mixed with *fura*, a common food of the people. Tamarind juice is also used as a refreshing beverage and as a prophylactic against sunstroke and fevers. A silken thread is obtained from the tamarind silkworm.

The baobab is a conspicuous tree of the Northern Provinces. Trees up to 72 feet in girth are frequently seen. The flour of the fruit is used in making the porridge known as *kunu*. The leaves are also used as a seasoning for soup and as bandages for wounds. A sauce used in cooking is made from the beans. Fulani frequently adulterate their milk with baobab pod juice. The bark of the baobab provides a much-used fibre. The Warji use this fibre for making door-curtains, the tops being plaited in the chequer pattern. The Kanuri use it for making knapsacks, string, and ropes.

Copaiba oil is obtained from the *Pardaniellia Oliveri* (*maje*) tree. The method of obtaining the oil is peculiar and destructive to the smaller trees. An incision six inches deep is made in the trunks, and in this a small fire is made. The heat of the fire brings down the oil from the upper parts of the tree.

The camwood tree provides the red oil commonly used, especially by the pagan tribes, in adorning the body.

The West African mahogany is of great local value, as its wood is used for making canoes and planks, and the mortars in which food is pounded. From its bark medicines are decocted. The *Chlorophora excelsa* (*loko*) tree, which is widely distributed in the more southern provinces provides timber of the highest class.

The silk-cotton tree is common as a shade-tree. It was apparently a late introduction into Nigeria, as it is generally known by its Hausa name of *rimi*. The silk hairs are not sufficiently adhesive to one another to be spun into thread, but the loose fibre is commonly used for stuffing quilted armour and cushions, as well as for catching sparks from flint and steel.

Hausa bows are made from the roots of the *Terminalia* (*baushe*), from the *Pterocarpus erinaceus* (*madobia*), from the *Dichrostachys platycarpa* (*sarkakiya*), or from the various bamboos. The bows of the more primitive pagan tribes are usually of bamboo.

The kola-nut is a favourite food and a stimulant. Though most of the nuts are imported from the Gold Coast, there are nevertheless extensive groves of kola-trees in the southern districts, notably the Nupe country, which provides nuts of very high quality. Koline is used in Europe for the making of certain medicated foods, biscuits, chocolates, and as a beverage. But local demands limit the export of Nigerian kolas.

There are many gum-trees, notably the *Anogeissus leiocarpus* (*marke*), the *Acacia Sieberiana* (*fara kaya*), and the *Bauhinia reticulata* (*kalgo*). The two former provide the gum used in making ink. The gum is mixed with water, boiled, and stirred. Leaves of the *Vitex cienkowski* (*dinya*) are also boiled in a separate pot and mixed with the gum. Both are then again boiled together, and a black ink is the result.

Bee-Keeping. Before passing on to describe the regular industries a word may be said about bee-keeping. Bee-keeping is common among all the tribes. The hives are woven from grass or guinea-corn stalks smeared over with cow's dung, and placed in the trees on the farm. The

entrance to the hive is through a piece of broken pot in which small holes have been pierced. When the honey is ready the beekeeper climbs the tree, smokes out the bees, and rakes out the honey into a pot. This he hands to an assistant below, who transfers the honey to a larger pot, round which a fire is kept burning to keep off the bees. The operation is continued until the hive is denuded of honey. The entrance to the hive is then fitted on again. One commonly finds mingled with the honey cells containing embryo bees. The honey is not infrequently adulterated with a viscous liquid obtained from the *Pallida* vine.

Some tribes (especially pagan tribes) construct the hives in the walls of their houses. They make a hole in the wall and fit in a pot, the mouth of which points outwards. They then seal up the mouth of the pot with clay, perforating the clay covering with small holes through which the bees enter. When the honey is ready they light a fire inside the hut under the pot, break open the base of the pot, smoke out the bees, remove the honey, and then reseal the pot. The Kagoro, after smoking out the bees, replace the pot with a new one. The Mumuye place pots in the trees for hives.

Thieves constantly deprive the beekeeper of his reward. To avoid detection they do not openly smoke out the bees, but, smearing themselves over with the juice of bean leaves as a protection against being stung, they climb the tree and detach the whole hive, letting it down to the ground with a rope. On the ground they apply the lighted end of a stick, which makes enough smoke to drive out the bees, but not enough to attract attention; and so the honey is removed.

Honey is preserved in earthenware pots, which are sealed

with mud, and finally plastered over with cow-dung to render them airtight.

Civet Cats. Scent is obtained from civet cats, kept in hutches and fed on meat and beans. The method of obtaining the scent has been described as follows: "An assistant engages the attention of the cat with a stick, which is thrust into the cage, and which the cat at once seizes in his jaws. Meanwhile the owner opens a small door in the top of the cage and grasps the animal by the tail. The hindquarters are then pulled up, the pouch under the tail is turned inside out and scraped with a wooden strigil, the civet being collected in a calabash."

Smelting and Smithing. Owing to the presence of surface iron-ore in an easily workable form, Africa appears to have passed immediately from the Stone to the Iron Age without undergoing the intermediate Bronze Age culture of Europe. In Nigeria there appears to be a bountiful supply of surface iron-ore, of which the natives make full use, there being no stigma attached, as in some parts of Africa, to the blacksmith's art—with the exception perhaps of the Kanembu, who despise all forms of industry.

Not all tribes, however, use their own supplies of iron or have their own blacksmiths. Some of the Koro, for example, used formerly to obtain and smelt their own ore, but they now leave this work to their neighbours, the Jaba, or itinerant smelters from Sokoto, who, in return for a present to the Koro chief, are allowed to win as much ore as they please.

When travelling at night during the dry season one may, in the Birnin Gwari district, come across temporary settlements of Maguzawa hard at work throughout the night smelting ore and making hoes for the local Hausa and

Gwari. The importation of European bar-iron has to a considerable extent displaced the smelting of local iron-stones, and the reduction of supplies of imported iron during the war was keenly felt in many districts where the art of smelting had long been neglected.

Before setting out to win the ore elaborate rites have often to be performed. The Mbarawa, for example, repair to the sacred grove, and there, with offerings of beer to the tutelary genius, ask for the spirits' aid in their enterprise. Curiously enough in this tribe the actual work of obtaining the ore is left to the women. Any man accidentally coming across the women while they were engaged in this work would be immediately seized and required to pay a fine.

Among the Angas the winning of iron-ore is a seasonal business and begins after the harvest. The religious chief ceremonially cuts down a *kirya* (*Prosopis oblonga*) or *marke* (*Anogeissus leiocarpus*) tree—the tree from which the charcoal subsequently used in smelting is obtained. All who are in need of iron implements may then go out and cut the wood necessary for the provision of charcoal. This is cut up and lighted, the flame being extinguished by water when the burning process is sufficiently advanced. The iron-ore is then obtained and smelted with charcoal and bellows, the iron being handed to the blacksmith, who, in return for farming assistance, fashions it into the required article. The Angas method of smelting consists in making alternate layers of charcoal and ore, and covering the whole with a large-sized pot with the object of preventing the escape of heat. The pot has an air-hole at the top. Between the workers and the pile of ore a mud screen is built as a protection from the heat of the fire. Two stick-bellows are used, and operations are

continued all night, the iron being taken out on the following evening. As a rule, however, the iron is smelted in circular furnaces with draw-pipes let in at the bottom.

Tin Smelting has been carried on by Hausa smelters at Liruen Dalma, in Bauchi province, for over fifty years, and at Liruen Kano for a very much longer time. The following is a description of the process of smelting given by Mr. A. Trevor Roberts, of the Mines Department :

“ Each of the furnaces was the property of one of the leading men of the village, who allowed ore to be smelted in it on the following terms. The miner who wished to have his ore reduced would bring to the smelter sufficient concentrate at one time to make a convenient charge, *i.e.* about 140 lb., containing up to 70 per cent. Sn, which was then smelted, the resulting metal, together with half the clinker, being handed back to the miner, while the other half of the clinker was claimed by the furnace-owner as his commission. In addition, the miner paid a fee of one shilling to each man employed in the operation of smelting, amounting in all to seven shillings. In the event of the owner of the furnace acting as chief smelter—which was usually the case—then he would receive payment for his work as well as a fee for the use of his furnace, while if the owner of the concentrate took a hand in the smelting, which was also customary, he would save the cost of one man. After reduction, the metal was remelted and poured into small moulds of narrow diameter, thus producing thin rods or ‘straws’ of tin, in which form the metal was sold.

The moulds were made of damp ashes, pressed around a number of straws set parallel and at a gentle angle, the straws being withdrawn when the ashes had become sufficiently dry, leaving pipe-like cavities for the molten metal. Each straw was usually 14 inches in length, while the diameter, though the same for one series, might vary from 0.04 inch to 0.08 inch, the cavity resulting from its withdrawal being somewhat larger than that of the straw, and varying in practically the same proportion. At the upper or open end of each mould ran a shallow trough, also made of ashes, which acted as a distributing channel

for the molten tin, enabling the moulds to be filled rapidly and easily. On solidification, the 'tin straws' were trimmed by means of scissors so as to give rods of equal length, the clippings being returned to the melting pot; the rods were then tied in bundles of 100 and sold in this manner, the price varying with the diameter from 1800 to 2000 cowries, *i.e.* 100 rods in English currency varied from 1s. 2½d. to 1s. 4d.

Almost the entire output of tin was sold in the village itself to traders who arrived from all parts, some coming from Bornu, others from Ibi, while a few actually came from the Gold Coast for this purpose. It is probable that the greater portion of the tin thus produced found its way into European hands, but there is no doubt that a fair quantity went to meet the local demand in the form of native ornaments.

Method of Smelting. The type of furnace employed, as might be expected, is very crude. It consists of (a) the furnace proper, (b) the blowing apparatus, and (c) the discharge trough and mould.

(a) *Furnace Proper.* This is of the vertical type, and is nothing more nor less than a blast-furnace in miniature. It is constructed out of ordinary building mud, the outer surface of which is strengthened by the admixture of short pieces of dried grass. The cavity into which the charge is placed is built roughly in the form of a truncated cone, having the larger diameter at the bottom; it is open above in order to admit the charge, but is closed below, while at the back is a pipe-like entrance for the forced draught. This opens out into the furnace and continues in a downward direction right through the front wall, at the base of which it appears as the discharge aperture.

(b) *Blowing Apparatus.* This consists of four *tuyères*, which are arranged in an arc at the back of the furnace, and made of a special kind of clay, in whose composition goat-hair plays an important part. The lower end of these *tuyères* converge into a slot-like hole, forming the upper termination of the air-passage for the furnace, while the upper ends are horizontal, and enlarged into cup-shaped excrescences whose outer surfaces are made convex so as to facilitate the binding on of the bellows, which are

in the form of small cones made of tanned goat-skin rendered supple by being rubbed with shea-butter.

(c) *Discharge Trough and Mould.* The former is a shallow depression leading in a gentle slope from the discharge aperture to the mould, which is merely a hemispherical hole in the ground. The surfaces of both trough and mould are coated with a thin layer of ashes, rubbed into the clay while still moist.

Method of Working. The furnace is first charged with charcoal—the only fuel employed—which is ignited by means of glowing embers. The discharge aperture having been partly closed by means of stones, blowing is commenced, and continued with fair speed until the whole contents are at a dull red-heat, when fresh charcoal is pressed into the mouth of the furnace and some tin concentrate added.

The interval between lighting the furnace and commencing to charge the ore varies according to the initial temperature of the furnace, but is approximately half-an-hour.

The blowing, which is performed by two natives seated on raised stones behind the furnace, and working two pairs of bellows attached by cords to the mouths of the *tuyères*, consists in the alternate raising and depressing of the hands, but as the rapidity with which this is done precludes grasping the bellows, the method adopted is to pass the thumb through a loop attached to the top of each leather cone.

The act of raising the hand draws air into the cone from the slot, situated just below the lower end of the *tuyères*, while that of depressing it forces the air contents of the cone into the charge through the passage made for this purpose at the back of the furnace.

The operation of blowing is very exhausting, and consequently relays of men have to be employed, the frequency with which they relieve each other increasing as the smelting draws to a conclusion. The feeding of the charcoal and ore is usually attended to by the chief smelter, who sees that the blowing is regulated to the varying requirements of the charge.

The charcoal is added at comparatively infrequent intervals, there being sufficient space around the mouth

of the furnace to hold about fifty pounds. The ore, before charging, is well mixed with the ground-clinker obtained from a previous smelt, and the mixture, which is thoroughly moistened with water, is then sprinkled on to the fresh charcoal overlying the charge, at intervals of from five to ten minutes, and in amounts varying from half a handful at the commencement to a large double handful at the end of the operations. The molten metal first appears at the discharge about two hours after the initial charge of ore, and runs into the trough where it solidifies, until the flow becomes sufficient to make it trickle into the mould. When the tin ceases to run readily, which is usually about twenty minutes after the last charge of concentrate has been added, the blowing is stopped, the stones removed from the discharge aperture, and the contents of the furnace raked over the trough by means of a long bamboo. This is called 'drawing' the furnace, and the operation is accelerated by inserting a pole into the furnace mouth in order to dislodge such portions of the discharge as may have adhered to the walls.

The contents thus withdrawn consist of metal, clinker, grit-like residue, and half-burnt charcoal, which are immediately separated from each other, the metal being allowed to run into the mould, while the charcoal is returned to the furnace to assist in the reduction of the next charge.

The clinker is set aside, and when cold is crushed by women, then 'calabashed' in a convenient stream, the resulting concentrate, called *kwa*, which contains about 60 per cent. of metal in the form of prills, being mixed with a fresh lot of tin concentrate to form a subsequent charge.

The grit-like residue, while still hot, is placed in a large thick calabash, in which it is then subjected to a rotary motion, thus causing the lighter portion to overflow, while the residue, consisting largely of molten metal, is poured into the mould, the contents of which are maintained in a liquid state by a layer of glowing charcoal placed on the surface. The overflow from the calabash is caught in a large earthenware vessel, in which it is allowed to cool, when it is further concentrated by dry-blowing. The residue thus yielded is called *komi*, and is added to the

mixture of tin concentrate and *kwa*, constituting the next furnace charge.

While the above is in progress the furnace is filled with a fresh supply of charcoal, and blowing, preparatory to the addition of another charge, commenced in order to cause as little delay as possible.

The metal in the mould, before being allowed to cool, is now cleared of its overlying charcoal, which, with the dross, is skimmed off and thrown into the furnace, thus adding to the next charge.

When solidified it is chilled by having water splashed upon it, and is set aside until several similar lumps—the result of the smelting of subsequent charges—have accumulated.

These lumps are then placed one at a time into large earthenware basins, supported in an inclined position upon stones, and melted by means of charcoal and wood applied above and below; when molten, the contents of each basin—usually two in number—are carefully removed by the aid of a ladle, also made of earthenware, and poured into the moulds, which have been prepared beforehand and are ready to receive the metal."

In addition to farming implements the Negro blacksmith makes swords, daggers, scissors, knives, spurs, iron pipes, bangles, rings, bracelets, and other ornaments. His tools are of the simplest, being but a hammer, anvil, a pair of bellows, and the charcoal fire. Many blacksmiths use anvils of stone, and some of the implements also are of stone. The *cire-perdue* method was commonly employed by the Hausa and some of the more advanced pagan tribes. For the manufacture of swords and other articles models in beeswax were first made. These were covered over with clay, leaving a small aperture. The wax was then melted out and the clay casing was baked hard. Into this the molten iron was poured, and when it cooled the clay was broken off, leaving the finished article.

This method was practised even by the Munshi, among whom the blacksmith's craft is held in great repute, no

one being allowed to follow it who has not first been initiated. The Munshi are well known for their brass-work, as are also the Nupe. It is of a primitive order, the results being somewhat crude. The brass used by the Nupe is obtained by the purchase of *manilla* rods or from cartridge-cases; but for the making of Bida trays sheet-brass from Europe is employed. The furnace bellows are (at Bida) of the valve pattern, consisting of two goat-skins, each with a twelve-inch slit. The slits are edged with flat pieces of stick. As the worker brings up his hand he allows the sticks to separate and the bellows fill with air. As the hand descends the sticks are pressed together and the air is expelled.

The brass is beaten out on an anvil, and every now and then, to render it more malleable, is heated in the flame, rubbed in sand, and finally thrust into water. If *manilla* rods or cartridge-cases are used these are first melted, then run into a mould, and finally beaten out. The moulds are of stone, and crucibles of clay are used for melting down the rods.

The Nupe brass-worker makes bracelets, rings, trays, teapots, kettles, and bowls. The teapots are made in seven or eight pieces and soldered together, the solder being obtained from European cigarette-tins. The designs are stencilled with a single-toothed engraving punch.

Silver Wire is manufactured at Bauchi by Hausa blacksmiths, from Maria Theresa dollars and French five-franc pieces. These are melted in a crucible, placed on a charcoal fire, and heated with skin valve bellows. The liquid silver is then mixed with a little *sinadari* or solder, and poured into a mould, which has first been greased. The resultant bar of silver is about three inches long and about one-third inch thick. It is beaten out on an anvil, heated



Fig. 51. Making silver wire at Bauchi—Bauchi Province

again, again beaten out, and so on until the silver is a flat strip about twelve inches long and a quarter of an inch broad. This strip is cut into halves by means of a hammer and chisel, and each half is beaten with a hammer until it is comparatively round. It is subjected to heat once more. The worker then takes a piece of iron, in which a series of graded holes are pierced, the largest being about one-eighth of an inch in diameter, and the smallest having a diameter about the size of a thin pin. The round strip of silver is smeared with grease, and the holes in the iron bar are also greased. The edge of the silver strip is filed to fit the largest hole. The worker holds the iron bar against the soles of his feet, and with a pair of nippers pulls the strip of silver through the hole, thereby drawing out the silver into a wire one-eighth of an inch thick. The process is continuously repeated each time through a smaller hole, until finally, after two hours' work, from a five-franc piece he has made eighteen yards of delicate silver wire. Chain necklets and other ornaments are made from this wire, which is cleaned by being heated and dipped in the juice of tamarind pods mixed with salt.

Glass-making at Bida. There is a guild of glass-workers at Bida known as the *Masaga*, who say that their forefathers were "Whitemen" and came to the Nupe country from Masr (Egypt) some hundreds of years ago. They have no clear recollections of pre-Fulani times, but can recall that they were settled at Raba in the days of Malam Dendo, the founder of the Nupe Fulani Emirate. Malam Dendo died in 1833. They migrated to Bida c. 1850. The guild is secret, and the members are forbidden to abandon the craft or set up business in any other town on their own account.

Bracelets and beads are made, and the present method

of doing so is by melting down European bottles and coloured European beads ; but they say that they have only obtained their glass in this way for the last fifty years, and that in former days they made their own glass from a local clay or ore, which presumably contained silicon. This was heated in a furnace, and the sample shown me at this stage had a ferruginous, glassy appearance, and looked very much like the slag taken from an iron-smelter's furnace. This slag was pounded in a mortar, sifted, and the powder mixed with native potash. The mixture was then fused in a furnace, and the result was a glassy, transparent mass, presumably of potassium (?) silicate. The guild has always closely guarded, or made a pretence of guarding, the secret of its methods, and it is possible that they have given a wrong or incomplete account of how they formerly manufactured glass. But the fact that they mentioned nitrate, which is a main constituent of the kind of glass made, seemed to be a confirmation of their general account. European bottles have, however, for the last fifty years taken the place of the native silicates. The process of converting these bottles into glass bracelets is as follows :

Round a circular clay furnace, with a diameter of three feet at the base and narrowing to one foot at the top, five workers are seated—two men and three boys. The fuel used is hard dried wood. A pair of African stick-bellows, worked by a boy, provides the draught for the fire, and so adept is this boy in working the bellows that he moves each stick up and down about 250 times a minute. The remaining four, worked in pairs, a boy doing the preliminary task of melting down the bottles, and a man fashioning off the molten glass into bangles. Black or brown glass bottles are first broken into fragments, one



Fig. 52. Glass making at Bida—Nupe Province

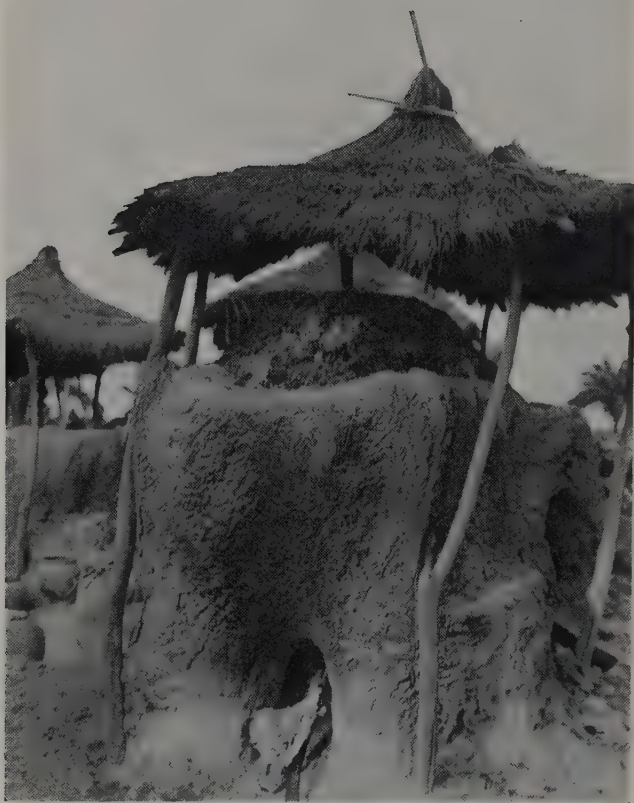


Fig. 53. " Katsi " furnace at Bida

of which the boy puts on the end of a spit and holds in the red-hot flame. As it melts and becomes sticky he adds another piece of broken bottle, and so on, until on the end of his spit he has a large mass of viscous glass. To prevent it dripping into the furnace he occasionally removes the spit from the flame and plunges it in water. While the boy is engaged in melting the bottles the man on his left is busy melting down white imported beads into thin wisps, to be used later for giving the decorative streak to the bangles. The man then transfers from the boy's spit to his own as much of the molten glass as he needs. He rotates the spit in his left hand and, with a long knife in his right hand, moulds the red-hot glass to the ring-shape desired. He then dabbles it over with streaks of the white material obtained from the white beads. This done he removes the spit from the flame, and takes in his right hand a long pair of tongs, with which he keeps drawing out and rotating the soft glass until it has assumed a perfect circle. The result is a black or brown glass bangle with irregular white streaks. It is allowed to cool a second, and is then deposited in carbon to render it less brittle. Five of these small bangles are sold for threepence.

The white beads which are melted down to produce the ornamental streak were formerly obtained from Kano, whither they were imported from North Africa. Blue bangles are also made, but are reserved for the members of the guild. The blue colouring is obtained by melting down blue European beads and mixing them with molten transparent glass obtained from transparent bottles. Besides the bangles, small glass streaked beads are made and strung together by women for necklaces or girdles. The process of making these is the same as for the bangles, except that the long tongs are not required, the glass on

the end of the spit being shaped, first with the knife, and then by gently rotating the spit and tapping the end of the spit with a piece of steel.

The workers are Muslims, and owing to intermarriage with the Nupe do not differ much in appearance from the rest of the people, though they are saluted as *Turawa*, or "Whitemen." They are the only glass guild in the whole of Nigeria, and it is not surprising to hear that it was in Egypt that they learned the art of glass-making; for the Egyptians knew how to make glass for at least 3500 years B.C., and in Roman times Alexandria manufactured glass on such a scale that it was the empire's chief source of supply. It is noteworthy also that, according to Idrisi, the ancient chiefs of Melle had houses with windows of glass.

Leather Work, Dyeing, and Embroidery. The Hausa and Beri-Beri have long been famous for their leather-work, and the former are said to have supplied for centuries most of the sandals worn throughout the Sudan. Some of the pagan tribes have also acquired considerable skill in the treatment and fashioning of hides, converting them into aprons, water-buckets, shoes, and slings for carrying babies. The method of tanning commonly followed by the Hausa is as follows:

The raw hide is first left to dry in the sun. It is then soaked for a night in water, and on the two following days is treated with a mixture of indigo (*katsi*) and wood-ashes, which renders the hair brittle and easily removable by scraping with a knife. The hide is then steeped in a solution of the juice of the *gaga-gaba* creeper in order to remove all traces of the ash mixture. From this it is transferred for one night to another solution made from the pods of the *Acacia Arabica* (*gabaruwa*). At this stage the

inner skin is scraped off clean with a two-handled knife, and the whole hide is once more immersed in the acacia solution, which is the tanning agent used. The skin is then thoroughly washed, dried in the sun, and dressed with ground-nut oil. It is finally allowed to soak in water, and is then ready to take the dye.

The common dyes used are red, yellow, black, and green. The red dye is made from the outer sheaths of guinea-corn stalks, known as *karandeffi*. These are beaten up, and mixed with a solution of indigo and wood-ash. In this solution the skin is steeped. It is then washed in water, stretched, and finally beaten with a wooden log to render it supple. The yellow dye is obtained from the root of the *kurugu* shrub, which is beaten up and mixed with silk-cotton pods. This mixture is rubbed on the skin with the hand. The skin is then dried, stretched, and beaten soft. The black dye is a solution of iron oxide. Imported red and green dyes are also used. These are mixed with the juice of silk-cotton pods and rubbed on with the hand. Where imported dyes are used the skins have to be dried in the shade.

As much as thirty pairs of sandals can be made from one large ox-hide, the strongest being those obtained from the thick skin in the region of the neck and ribs. Various skin-vessels, such as the bottles used for carrying galena stain, snuff or tobacco boxes, and the larger vessels used for carrying honey or butter, are made from undressed cow-hides. The method of manufacture is noteworthy. A clay mould of the shape required is first made. The worker then takes a piece of hide which has been soaked in water, and shaves off the hairy outer covering, using for this purpose a knife with a crescent-shaped blade. The moist inner skin is then cut into a series of thin strips, and

with these the mould is encircled. These strips knit together when left to dry in the sun, and the mould inside is removed by being gently tapped with a piece of bone until it breaks. Skin vessels made of strips of skin in this way will open up if exposed to wet. They are usually decorated on the outside with strips of hairy hide.

The skin water-bottles used on camel journeys across the desert are hides carefully tanned, dressed with oil, and sewn together. The panniers employed in donkey transport are made of untanned hides. They are square-shaped, and constructed within four circular frames of sticks.

The decorative designs used in ornamenting leather bags are usually very crude, and may represent lizards, horses, crocodiles, frogs, fish, ostriches, rats, scorpions, cockroaches, hawks, hyenas, men holding axes, matchets, swords, umbrellas, fans, the Arabic writing-board, and two young men shaking hands. Leather goods are often, however, covered with embroidery, and in this class of work, as well as in the embroidering of gowns and trousers, the Hausa are distinguished by great skill, patience, and artistic sense. The designs used are the lozenge, circles, chains, segments, and rosettes, plain coils, and double triangles. There do not appear to be any abstract ideas underlying the use of any of these designs. The predominance of the lizard or iguana pattern is possibly a relic of totemism. Saddle-clothes are elaborately embroidered, a yellow thread being commonly employed, the dye of which is obtained locally from the tuber known as the *kyamba*. The tuber is pounded and mixed with a thin solution of potash, to which a little lime is added. Headstalls and other trappings of horses are also elaborately worked, usually on a base of green leather.



Fig. 54. Chief of the Bombadawa potters—
Kano Province



Fig. 55. A Jen woman with water pot—
Muri Province

Riding-boots are commonly covered with green velvet and embroidered with silver thread.

I noticed a curious method of decorating gowns in use among the Abakwariga—an ancient pagan Hausa settlement south of the Benue. Designs are stencilled with charcoal on a white gown, and along the lines of the design strips of fibre are sewn. The gown is then thrown into indigo dye, and when it is taken out the fibre strips are removed, leaving the white lines of the stencilled design. This stopping-out method of dyeing, which is known to the Yoruba (and incidentally to the natives of Borneo and Java), is not, as far as I am aware, followed by any Hausa other than the Abakwariga.

Appliqué work is also sometimes seen on gowns, as, for instance, on those worn by the tutelary genii of the Jukun.

Pottery. Most tribes make their own pots ; but a number of tribes (*e.g.* Ngamo, Vere, Gongla, some Chamba and Igbira, Owe, Gana-Gana, Kamuku, Pongo, Gungawa, Lopawa, Shangawa, Piti, and Kurama) are dependent on their neighbours for these articles.

In Kano city the manufacture of pots is in the hands chiefly of the Bombadawa—a tribe of Katsina Fulani slaves who are also well known throughout the northern provinces as itinerant professional beggars. The potters are generally women. The quality of the pottery is largely dependent on the character of the clay used, a refractory clay being essential. The Bombadawa choose a sticky clay, and with it mix a light chalky earth. This mixture is moistened and thoroughly kneaded, care being taken to leave no hollows. The Nupe of Bida add a little sand or powdered pieces of broken pottery, a method also followed by the Bunyoro. These, it is said, prevent the pot from cracking during the process of baking. A ball of the

kneaded clay is then taken and flattened out between two stones, which are first dusted with sand or wood-ashes to prevent the clay from sticking to the stones. The flattened clay is moulded on to the lower part of a disused pot or calabash (Kadara), and all unevenness is removed by polishing the surface with a smooth stone. The surface is then sluiced with water and smoothed with the palm of the hand (Bombadawa). The main body of the pot has now been made, and is put out in the sun to harden.

The next stage in the operations varies with the character of the vessel required. If the potter wishes to make a small water-jar she takes a second ball of clay, and, going through the same operation as before, she obtains the second half of the body of the jar. The two halves are then fitted together, the joining being covered with some kneaded clay. A circular hole is cut out of the top half with a knife. Over this hole the neck is adjusted, being made of kneaded clay worked up in strips. The whole of the jar is then carefully smoothed with a shell, or with the pod of a *Bauhinia reticulata* tree (Jukun). The potter then imprints her diagonal decorations with a knife, and when this is done she leaves the jar in the sun to dry. It is then fired in a furnace, and finally burnished with a juice made from the pod of the locust-tree (Nupe). When larger vessels with wide mouths are required the process followed by all the tribes is usually the same viz.—the moulded formation is built up by coiled strips. Chevron designs may be made on the neck with a pointed stick.

The Bombadawa smear the outer surface with powdered mica clay, using a damp cloth for this purpose. The pot is then put on an open fire, consisting of a base of small sticks covered over with logs. Dried grass is thrown



Fig. 56. A Jera pot Yola Province



Fig. 57. Spinner winding off thread -Kano Province



Fig. 58. A Hausa thread winder (" Yaro ba ki wuya ")]
Kano Province

round and over the pots. The Jukun are careful not to apply too great heat at once. The process is gradual, a little firing being done one day, some more the next, and so on until the whole pot is thoroughly baked. The Gwari, who are famous for their pottery, commonly use a basket as a mould, plastering the clay on the outside. The Katab also follow this method. In the process of firing the basket is carbonised, the print of the wicker-work being left on the inside of the pot. Before the pot is baked it is smeared over with a fine red burnishing clay. The Berom smear theirs with juice made from the seeds of the mahogany-bean tree. The Tikar sometimes use the doubled knee as a mould. Many of the pagan tribes (*e.g.* Margi and Jera) are noted for the coloured decorations on their pottery, blue, yellow, and black designs being traced from paints made from red earth gum, bark, and roots. The Jukun commonly imprint designs by means of a piece of string netting. The Angas decorate the surface of their pots with little knobs of clay. Their sacred pot is of remarkable design, as can be seen from the illustration (Fig. 93, vol. ii.).

The Galambe and other Bauchi tribes, who often mould the base of their pots on plaited trays, commonly also add legs, which are fitted into holes cut out of the vase of the pot. The joining is strengthened, and the pot is fired as it stands.

The pots made by the Jera and Jen bear a striking resemblance to the classical amphora (see Fig. 56).

Spinning and Weaving. Spinning is universal among the tribes who use clothes. It is generally the work of the women, but occasionally (*e.g.* among the Afawa and people of Kano and Fika) it is engaged in by men. Laird reported that everybody in Funda, including the chief,

spent his spare time in spinning. Even professional carriers spun as they went along the road.

Spinners often grow their own cotton. The fibre is separated from the seed by being rolled between a flat stone and a round iron rod. The cotton is then teased out with the fingers, and is further thinned by means of a bow known as the *bakan shiba*, the cotton being rolled on the bow-string, which is then twanged. It is next wound round a pin called the *tsinki*, and from that is spun on to a spindle, the whorl of which is often highly decorated with concentric circles. The spindle is spun round on a piece of leather placed in a basket. To facilitate the spinning a chalky material, made from the residue of burnt powdered bones (*alli*), is rubbed on the fingers.

The thread is of two kinds: (a) *zare*, a strong filament used for the warp and woof, and (b) *abawa*, a loose thick thread used only for the woof. The thread may be left white, or dyed various shades of indigo. European thread is also commonly used in weaving, and a purple yarn, known as *warwar*, is imported into Kano by the Arabs of Tripoli. The spun thread is wound off on to a crinoline-shaped wheel, and from there to the weaver's spindle. This wheel (which is known as *yaro ba ki wuya*) is also found in India (see Fig. 58).

A silky thread is spun chiefly by the Nupe and Hausa. The fibre is obtained from parasites of the tamarind and *Isobertinia* (*doka*) trees, as well as of certain shrubs, the chrysalis being enclosed in a pod. The contents of the pod are soaked in hot water and then sprinkled with ashes. The dead worms are removed, and the fibre teased in a calabash, damped, and finally spun on to a spindle.

Looms are usually (a) the horizontal narrow or broad-fabric loom worked by men, and occasionally by women ;



Fig. 59. A Hausa weaver—Kano Province



Fig. 60. A Kanuri weaver—Bornu Province

and (b) the vertical broad-fabric loom worked exclusively by women.

(a) The horizontal loom is double-heddled, the heddles being worked by stick-treadles. The warp is of limited length, and is made fast to a calabash anchored by a heavy stone. The heddle is of the frame pattern, consisting of two rigid bars connected by a series of loops with smaller loops in the centre, through each of which is passed one of the set of woof-threads. These threads run over a beam, through the heddles and comb on to the breast-beam, behind which the weaver sits. The comb is suspended by a string, which passes through a pulley fixed on to the wall just above the weaver's head. The teeth of the comb are made of guinea-corn stalk. The shed-stick used for keeping the two sets of odd-and-even threads in position is generally a piece of calabash, which is turned up to accentuate the shed. The shuttle is shot by hand. The finished fabric is wound round a stick between the weaver's knees. This stick (*takala*) is kept in position by two smaller sticks stuck into the ground, one at each end. The fabric woven varies from two inches to three feet. A weaver working a six-inch fabric takes three or four days to complete a woman's covering cloth. Patterns are made by introducing threads of the required colour into the warp or weft. Among the Abakwariga (pagan Hausa) and Jukun, who weave beautifully embroidered cloth, the additional sheds required for the weft-thread are produced by string dividers worked by hand. Two shuttles are required. Some pagan tribes (*e.g.* the Pe) do not use shuttles at all. The horizontal looms are easily portable, and are worked in the open air or under an awning.

(b) The vertical loom of the women is worked inside the house, being set up against the wall. It has a frame

to give it rigidity. The weaver sits on the floor with her feet in a pit. The loom has no treadles, the shed being made by gripping the heddle and inserting the sword. The laze-rods are used to prevent the sets of threads from becoming entangled. Single threads of native makes are employed, or double threads of European cotton. The fabric produced is about four feet wide. This type of loom was common in ancient Egypt.

(c) There is a type of weaving, or rather of knitting, common among the Hausa, and known as *sakan siliya*. A purple wool imported from Tripoli is employed, and first spun into triple thickness. The instrument used is a frame of two guinea-corn sticks, with a cross-bar to keep them in position. Between the sticks is a wooden needle, which is moved to the left and right alternately, making a loop each time over the end of one of the frame-sticks. As the needle is moved backwards towards the centre the loop is drawn into the central mesh. The braided cord produced is received into a little bag which is attached to the frame. The cord is used for suspending charms or swords.

Straw-plaiting. The manufacture of mats is an important industry, the returns showing over 50,000 people as being engaged in this occupation. (An underestimate, no doubt, as many persons who make mats in their spare time were not included.)

Mats are woven from grass, from the fronds of the various palms, from reed-grass bound together with *rama* fibre, or from the sheaths of guinea-corn stalks. The stalks themselves are often used (*e.g.* by the Basa), being cut into the required length, soaked in water, or strung together with fibre.

The most durable and pliant mats are made from the



Fig. 61. Nupe vertical loom—Nupe Province



Fig. 62. Jukun weaving—Muri Province

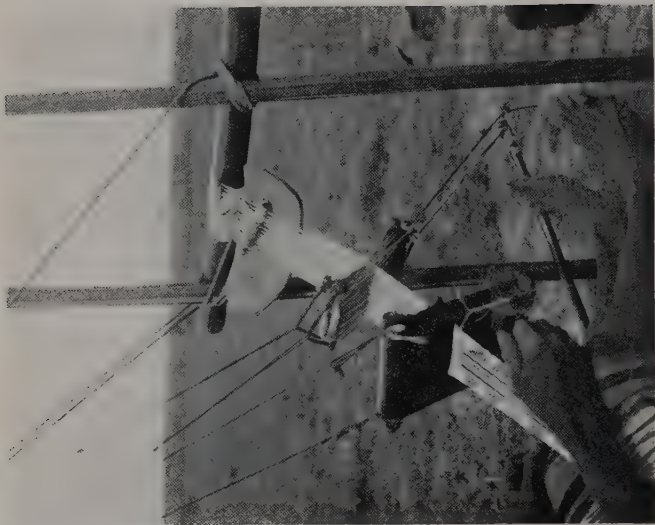


Fig. 63. Jukun weaving—Muri Province



Fig. 64. Jukun weaving—Muri Province

leaves of the dum-palm, the leaves being about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. Various dyes are used. The black dye is produced by burying the straws for several days in rich black mud, washing them in water, steeping them in a black solution made from guinea-corn sheaths, and finally boiling them. Red dye is also obtained from guinea-corn sheaths, and the yellow dye from the ripe fruit of the *Borassus* palm.

Bida is noted for its hats, which are made from the young shoots and matured leaves of the date, dum, and *kajinjiri* palm (*Phoenix reclinata*). The straws are plaited into a long braid one inch wide, and this braid is then sewn together with bamboo-palm fibre over a wooden mould.

The common wicker-basket is made from twigs (*e.g.* of the *Combretum* shrub). The frame is built first, and the basket is smeared inside and out with cow's dung. They are used for storing grain or housing chickens. The Buduma make coiled water-tight baskets from reed-fibres.

Salt. Common salt is considered an essential element in the diet of Nigerian natives. It has long been a staple article of commerce and a principal form of currency. Natron is also widely used as a medicine for men, a food for horses, and a flavouring by people who chew tobacco. Where salt cannot be obtained directly its place is taken by sodium solutions made from the ashes of stalks and trees, and even cow-dung. The pagan tribes, especially, use these concoctions of ashes, the continued consumption of which is said to affect the eyesight.

Though salt has a fairly wide distribution in the form of brine-springs, pools and wells, and of incrustations, and is also obtainable from the ashes of certain trees and grasses, the Nigerian supplies have never been sufficient

to meet the demands. Salt has therefore for countless generations been imported from districts to the north of Nigeria. The salt of Bilma in particular has long been a feature of Nigerian markets. In recent times European salt has tended to displace the native salt products, but it has not affected the demand for native natron.

Salt Distribution. Brine-springs and pools occur in Muri, southern Bauchi, and Nasarawa. In Bornu the wells are commonly charged with sodium salts, and deposits of natron are met with in the beds of the shallow lakes of northern Bornu, and in Sokoto in the vicinity of Gulma and Argungu. The natron is dug up in the dry season after the lakes have dried. Incrustations of salt are found at Zauro in Sokoto.

In Bornu salt is also made from the ashes of the *siwak* (or *Salvadora persica*) and *kege* (or *Capparis aphylla*) trees, and of various grasses that grow principally in the vicinity of Lake Chad.

Method of Preparation. The general method of winning the salt is the same—by the concentration and evaporation of the salt solutions. In Muri and Nasarawa evaporating pans are used. In Bornu the salt-bearing ore is deposited in grass sieves, through which water is allowed to percolate. The resultant salt solution is then boiled in moulds, and, as the water is evaporated off, conical tubular or rectangular blocks of salt are left. The same method is employed, I believe, at Bilma in French country, where the salt is also found in a fluid condition.

When salt is made from the ashes of trees a similar system, varying only in detail, is used. The following is the method followed in Bornu by Kanembu slaves: The ashes from the burnt branches of the *Capparis aphylla* tree are deposited in a grass sieve, and the water is allowed

to percolate through the sieve into a hole in the ground below (the sides of which are rendered impervious to water by a cement made of ashes mixed with water and the hair of hides). The solution is then ladled into conical earthenware pots and boiled, a little powdered natron being added to absorb the grease in the solution. The water is then evaporated off by being boiled for an hour or two. The pots are finally smashed, leaving conical lumps of salt. It is in this way also that salt is extracted from certain of the grasses that grow round Lake Chad.

There are well-recognised standards of salt products, varying from the pure unmanufactured crystals to brands in which the percentage of salt corresponds with the thoroughness of the method employed. European salt is deliberately adulterated by the addition of millet or cassava flour.

Fire-making. Two methods of obtaining fire are used by all the tribes: (a) the percussion, and (b) the drill method.

(a) *The percussion method.* The spark is obtained by drawing a piece of iron or steel sharply across the edge of a flint or other stone, and is caught in the dried fibre of the silk-cotton tree pod. The steel is first prepared in the following way. A mixture is made up of lizard-dung, pepper, salt, and the juice of the spiky creeper known as *sasarin kura*. The steel is coated with this mixture, and thrust into a fire until red-hot. It is then plunged into water, and the whole process is repeated two or three times. The steel is finally rubbed in sand, and is then ready for use. Some tribes (*e.g.* the Teria) treat the steel with cactus juice and ashes instead of with lizard-dung.

The silk-cotton fibre has to be dried before use; and this is done by roasting the pod in a fire, or setting it

alight with a spark. When the pod is nearly burnt through it is thrust into sand to extinguish the flame. The dried fibre inside is then taken out, and is carried in a pouch or in the circular waterproof nut of the fan-palm. The percussion method is that in general use.

(b) *The drill method* is a dry-season one, and is only resorted to in the absence of steel and flint. A stalk of guinea-corn, bulrush millet, or *Hibiscus*, is split into two. One half is taken, and a groove is made in it by twirling into it a smaller stalk. Underneath the groove some dried cow's or horse's dung, or old dried rags, are placed. The rotatory movement is continued until the stalk is pierced, when the heat generated ignites the dried dung or rags. Among some tribes (*e.g.* the Mbarawa), where the percussion method is commonly followed, the more ancient drill method is ceremonially carried out each year by the religious chief. All fires are extinguished in the town, and the religious chief, with the elders, goes through the process of twisting one stick into another. The resultant fire is believed—by the women, at any rate—to have been obtained by magic means, and is formally distributed throughout the village.

V

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Totemism and lycanthropy—Marriage: pre-nuptial relations, kinship marriage, levirate and sororate, cousin marriage, marriage of slaves, polygyny, polyandry, sexual communism, types of marriage—Artificial relationships: marriage of women to women, marriage to inanimate objects, blood brotherhood—Dissolution of marriage—Mother-right—The Family: domestic regulations and sexual division of labour, avoidance customs and terms of relationship—The Village—The Clan—Tribal and larger social groupings.

Totemism

TOTEMISM is the assertion of kinship between man and an animal or plant species. It has a double character—a religious and a social. In this chapter, which deals with social organization, we should more properly confine our remarks to totemism in its relation to the social system, but it will be convenient to review here all the heterogeneous practices and beliefs which are commonly classed as totemistic, and also to refer to the various animal cults and wer-animal ideas, even though these have only an indirect connection with totemism.

We must note, however, that the imputation of a sacred character to animals is a much wider principle than totemism, constituting as it does the basis of all hunting magic and of the propitiation of dangerous animals. Moreover, as totemism is in the northern provinces of Nigeria everywhere in a state of survival, it is very difficult to be sure in any given case that the sacred character attributed to the animal species is of totemic origin.

Animal and Plant Tabus

Muslim. A totem is generally a class of animals or plants with which a section of a tribe, clan, or family has some supposed mystic relationship. It is sacred and tabu.

Animal tabus are universal in Nigeria, not merely among the pagan tribes, but even among the Muslim communities as well. Muslim families still have their sacrosanct animals. They are known in the *lingua franca* as *kan gidida*, which means "the head" or "the source of the house." Muslims have told me that the totem witnessed the foundation of the house. They will not usually go so far as to say that their family was actually descended from the totem, but I have known professing Muslims who said that the totem contained the spirits of their forefathers. The *kan gidida* is thus the family badge. The species is sacrosanct; it is therefore never eaten (any one inadvertently eating the flesh of his totem would immediately vomit). The revered animals are usually non-domestic, but no Zaberma will eat camel's flesh, and the Toronkawa—a Fulani Muslim sub-tribe to which belongs the royal house of Sokoto—abstain from the flesh of goats (as do the bushmen of South Africa). Thus we see that, in spite of their professed religion, many Muslim tribes retain a strong sense of mystic relationship with their totemic animals.

Pagan. Before the introduction of Islam, among the early peoples of the Hausa states various snakes were apparently common totem animals, especially among the peoples of Katsina and Daura. The Abayajidu invaders of the Daura traditions would appear to have slain the local snake and substituted their own sacred animal, *e.g.*

the lion (*zaki*), or some other worship instead. There is a possible connection here between totemism and king-killing. The Hausa ceremonially killed their totems at regular intervals, and we know that they also killed their kings.

It is interesting to note that among the Kamuku and Gwari, both of whom claim to have come originally from the region of Katsina and Daura, snake-worship is still commonly practised.

Snakes are tabu to some of the Angas and Tangale sub-tribes, and these people also appear to have had a close connection with, or been part of, the early Hausa peoples. Among the Tal the snakes infest the houses, and any one killing them would die. The Dakakari also have sacred snakes, and among some tribes, *e.g.* the Longuda, certain individuals who believe themselves to be immune from snake-bites will never kill a snake.

Representations of the snake have been dug up in various localities of the Bauchi Plateau. The snake, as a phallic emblem, frequently appears in Yoruba mythology.

Sacred trees were also common among the pagan Hausa sub-tribes. The blood of the sacrifice was smeared upon the tree trunk and allowed to ooze down to the roots. A strip of cloth was bound round the tree—a custom still carried out by the Bauchi (a tribe which may be the prototype of the Hausa), and also by the Kukuruku. The Kutumbawa revered the tamarind, and would not burn or cut it down. It is said that when the first Muslims came to Kano they cut down the sacred trees, but these grew up again in the night.

Among the Plateau hill-tribes there are many sacred trees, under the shade of which prayers are offered, the

leaves being used as charms ; and among some Gwari sacred trees and sacred stones are worshipped, as these are said to be the spirits of forefathers.

Every Angas house has a carefully kept sacred *chediya* tree (*Ficus Thonningii*). The Teshenawa have a sacred baobab, the fruit of which, they say, has not been plucked for a thousand years. The fan-palm is sacred among some of the Tangale sub-tribes. It may not be cut down, but if it were felled by some stranger or blown down by the wind its wood might be used with impunity.

The red-flowered silk-cotton tree (*gurjia*) is sacred to the Tera, and offerings of beer are poured upon it at recognized festivals. The Jera regard the locust-tree as their friend, and among the Waja there is a sacred mahogany to which offerings of beer and the blood of a pullet are made.

The *Prosopis oblonga* (*kiriya*) tree is tabu to some Maguzawa, the reason given being that the sacred hornbill is wont to roost in the branches of the tree. The wild cherry is tabu among some Tangale sub-tribes. Its wood might not be used within the confines of the village, and any one breaking this rule would go blind, or bald, or be assailed by elephantiasis or leprosy.

The lion was a principal totem among many of the early Hausa clans, and also among the Kanuri, Jukun, Angas, Kanakuru, Tangale, Galambe, Dakakari, Jera, Dadiya, Borok, Kushi, Pero, Tangale, Tula, Tera, Kamu, Awok, Bobar, Igbira, and many other tribes. One of the Manga sub-tribes is known as the " Kurgalli " or " Lions," which may possibly have been a totemic clan division.

The crocodile is sacred to the Jukun, Irigwe, some Gana-Gana, some Makangara-Kamuku, some Yergum, and some Galambe; and the leopard is venerated by

the Igara, Jarawa, many Jukun, the Paiemawa, some Kamuku, and many Plateau tribes, as well apparently as by the Koro. An Igara will not even look on a leopard's skin ; their chiefs were sprung from the leopard. Many Igbira will not touch a leopard, and the reason they assign is that the leopard protects them from small-pox—the spotted character of the leopard's skin possibly suggesting this connection. The giraffe is sacred to some Yergum and Dakakari. The Kede worship the manatee.

Some Maguzawa reverence the domestic cat, and if they see a cat in a stranger's hands would purchase its freedom. Some Tangale may not hunt the wild cat, and if perchance a hunter killed one he would hand its flesh over to some member of another group. His spear would be confiscated for seven days, during which rites would be performed to purge it of its defilement.

The Kanakuru reverence the monitor known as *guza* (*varanus niloticus*), because the shadows cast by their children are said to be monitors. The Waja similarly reverence the monitor, and any one killing this animal would be fined seven goats. A monitor which worked mischief among them, *e.g.* by catching chickens, would be beaten.

The Bagirmi reverence the wart-hog, because a wart-hog once revealed the presence of water to a Bagirmi chieftain and his army who were dying of thirst. The Ankwe respect crowned cranes and hawks, and will not injure them, but will wear their feathers, believing them to be charged with spiritual power. Some Zumper reverence the hippopotamus, because on one occasion hippopotami carried them on their backs across the river, and so saved them from their enemies.

Among the Kilba and Tangale each sub-division of the

tribe recognizes some animal or plant as its totem, believing that their ancestors were descended from it, and that they themselves may be born again in the totem form. Some Tangale also reverence the stork (as did in former times many of the Hausa sub-divisions).

Many other animals are tabu as food. The Tura and Kangu of Bornu will not eat the flesh of the *Farin Gindi* gazelle.

A Ba-Jare who kills a leopard sends the head to his religious chief and hands over the flesh to his Kibo neighbours. If he ate the flesh himself he would die. The Bobar have a similar custom. Among other tribes, again, e.g. the Longuda, certain individuals who believe themselves immune from attack by leopards will refrain from eating leopard's flesh, though they will take part in a leopard hunt. A Wukari Jukun who kills a leopard parades the town with the dead animal mounted on a mat. The people salute the animal with the uplifted arm as they would a chief. Though the slayer of the leopard is given numerous gifts, he is nevertheless required to perform propitiatory rites, which include three days' solitude in the bush. Among some of the Plateau tribes, where the flesh of certain animals is tabu, the danger of eating it can be overcome by the use of certain medicines. Thus one of the Plain Angas told me that if he shot a lion he would give the skin to the chief, and then he and his male friends would drink a draught which would enable them to eat the flesh without ill effects.

Among the Berom the flesh of lion, leopard, and hyena is eaten ceremonially, but only by the old men. The Seiyawa and Munshi have a similar custom, and say that as the old men are near to death they can afford to take risks that young men may not. The red-legged hornbill

(*shamuwa*) was a "clan" totem among the Maguzawa and Tangale tribes. Among those tribes who show strong mother-right customs the hyena, lizard, frog, and snakes are tabu, but I could not find that these were totem animals. Among most of the tribes the frog is universally tabu. It would not be eaten, nor will anyone touch it with his hands. The people of Vom said it had magic powers; others of the Berom said they did not eat it simply because it was unpalatable, but as they were afraid to touch it, and as large numbers of the Berom call themselves Frogs, the frog was presumably a totem of one of the clan divisions.

The men of Pe do not eat hare; it would make them sick. But the women may eat it without any ill effects. An enceinte Pe woman would not, however, eat hare in case her unborn child should be a male; for in this case, by eating hare, the child would be killed. This is the only case that came to my notice in which a ritual prohibition was laid down with a special reference to one sex. Possibly the underlying idea is one of contagious (or sympathetic) magic. The numerous proscriptions among all the tribes (Muslim included) of certain foods to enceinte women are no doubt ultimately to be referred to the same category.

No Tangale woman who is capable of bearing children may eat any animal that has claws. Many tribes, such as the Koro and Ankwe, practise animal dances.

The filing and chipping of teeth among some of the tribes may have been designed to produce a likeness to animals that they respect.

Of totems other than animals and plants we may note that rain and thunder are common family totems among the Jukun. One whose totem is rain will not drink water

which is obviously fresh-rain water. He will drink at all times from a well, but rain-water caught in a calabash would be sacred and tabu.

We may mention here that the Mbarawa have an annual custom of ceremonially making fire (see p. 172).

Sacrosanctity in Relation to Conception. There are traces of this primitive form of totemism in the belief common to all Hausa women that if they dream of a snake assuredly they have conceived. Among the Kanuri we find the belief that a woman who conceives while lying on a leopard's skin will bear a male child. This may have some connection with early totemistic ideas—the totem of the father having been a leopard.

It is a normal belief among Nigerian women that sanctity attaches to a tree in passing which they had first become conscious of pregnancy. The spirit had left the tree and entered into the womb. Such beliefs are commonly associated with the quickening period. It is then, they think, that the child acquires a living spirit, and at the first movement of her unborn babe the woman looks round to discover what spirit had vitalized the foetus. It may have been a tree under which she had been sitting, or it may have been a snake which she had espied, a crow that had flown past, or hare that had darted by. Many of these ideas are embodied in the folklore of the people, and to this reference will be made later.

Totemism and Ancestor Worship. Many of the totem animals are regarded as sacred because they embody the spirits of tribal ancestors. A friend of mine who was visiting a certain town of the Makangara Kamuku came across a lake near the town in which he espied some crocodiles. He sent for his rifle, but the chief of the town

arrived hurriedly (before the rifle) and begged that his ancestors should be spared.

Other Kamuku keep pythons in their houses, and say that their children can play with them. They contain the spirits of their forefathers, who are their powerful protectors, who gave them the victory in battle or concealed them in defeat. The Angas also (like the Zulu) share this view, and to peoples who believe that the ghosts of the dead return to their earthly homes it is easy to regard these ghosts as embodied in the friendly snakes that are allowed to wander unhurt in every Angas compound.¹

The Kanakuru believe that the spirits of their dead enter the bodies of lions. The Kugama are a totemistic tribe, and one man said that his grandmother was the daughter of an elephant, and on her death became a female elephant. The Ankwe believe that all deformed animals have human souls.

When a Gani chief (Yergum) dies he becomes a crocodile ; and here, in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, we see how an ancestor may become the founder of a totem family, and in the process of time of a totem clan. And so we find certain animals closely associated with the person of the head of the clan or tribal chief. Among the Hausa tribes the lion is the symbol of chieftainship, and the salutation of the chief is *Zaki* or "Lion." Mr. Roscoe has recorded that among the Bantu-speaking Bahima the king is often called a "lion," and on his death is believed to turn into a lion. The Igara venerate the leopard, and address it as *Ata* or Father, which is the title of the tribal chief. (It is interesting to note incidentally

¹ Sacredness of harmless snakes as representing the re-incorporated souls of ancestors is found among many Nilotic and East African tribes (e.g. Dinka, Shilluk, Masai, Wassiba).

that the Igbara word for leopard is the same as the Nupe word for chief.)

To kill a leopard or a lion is to commit an offence against the living chief and the dead. Thus among the Igara when a leopard is killed it is brought to the chief, is dressed up in white, and borne from house to house amidst singing and beating of drums. If these rites were not observed the spirit of the dead leopard would trouble the people. The burial-place of the Ata is known as "The Grave of the Leopard."

And so also among the Seiyawa, Bankalawa, and Jarawa, a man who has killed a lion goes in penitence to the chief, with his right hand tied to his neck. He has killed the chief's "brother." The chief formally absolves him and gives him a gown, and the hunter is then hailed as a hero, for has he not killed a chief? A Jukun hunter who meets a lion in the bush will lay aside his bow and arrows, go down on his knees, and salute him as he would his chief. If the lion is eating its prey at the time he will address it in these words: "Lion, thou art our chief and our father. I beseech thee to leave me the remainder of the flesh"; and straightway the lion, conscious of his kingliness, will rise up and leave to his "child" the food he has been eating.¹ If the hunter's totem was the lion, and the hunter accidentally killed a lion, he would bind its head with a white cloth and bury it, report the occurrence to the priest-chief, wipe out the offence by purificatory rites, and engage with the rest of the community in a sacred feast. Among the Wukari Jukun, if any one killed a lion, the carcase was brought to the chief's compound, and the slayer, bound hands and feet, was

¹ Mr. J. S. Hall, of the Sudan Interior Mission, reports the same custom among the Tangale. Messrs. Smith and Murray Dale report a similar custom among the Ba-Ila of Northern Rhodesia.

dragged round it seven times.¹ But if a lion molested a Jukun it would be considered a stranger and an enemy. The chief would order its destruction, and the man who killed it would be publicly thanked and allowed to retain the skin and claws.

The Dakakari reverence the lion, believing that the founder of their tribe was a hunter who had transformed himself into a lion. If they find a dead lion in the bush they bury him as they would a human corpse. The Tera, Jera, Dadiya, Bangunji, Borok, Kushi, Pero, Kamu, Tula, Awok, and Tangale show a similar respect for the corpse of a lion.

Lycanthropy. To people who believe that animals contain the souls of men there is no great transition in thought to the converse belief that men may assume the form of animals. This is a general conception throughout northern Nigeria, and it appears in a great variety of forms. There are men who transform themselves body and soul into animals—generally the hyena. These men are wizards. In their human shape they drink the life-blood of their fellows, and when they have thus accomplished their death, they go forth at night to dig up and feed upon their corpses; or they are conceived as living on a man's life-blood by day, and in the form of animals devouring live human beings by night.

A Bunu once reported to me that he had accidentally shot his sister-in-law. She had turned herself into a bush-pig. He came across her in this form and shot her with a poisoned arrow. When shot she immediately resumed her human form. (Investigation into the case showed that the man had gone out hunting. His sister-

¹ The number seven has among the Jukun, as among the Semites, a sacred significance.

in-law followed later to collect palm-nuts, and as she was bending down he saw her and mistook her for a pig !). Some Tangale change themselves into birds when they wish to reconnoitre the enemies' defences. An Idoma husband recently accused his wife of sitting on the top of his house in the form of an owl. Yoruba sorcerers commonly attack people in this guise, and if the owl can be caught and injured a corresponding injury is done to the sorcerer's body.

Among all the tribes there are individuals who can transform themselves into animals at night with a view to stealing sheep, goats, and chickens, and if they are injured during their hunting their human bodies will show the mark next day.

A British officer stationed among a hill-tribe recently set a rifle-trap for a hyena which had been troubling his compound at night. The hyena was shot. Its pug-marks suddenly became those of human footsteps, and streaks of blood were traced to the compound of the Galadima—a principal chief of the town. The villagers next day taxed the British officer with the death of the Galadima, who was known to be a wer-hyena.

There are other men whose souls leave their bodies during sleep and enter into animals, the human bodies remaining asleep. It is a common belief among all the tribes that during sleep a man's soul goes wandering. No one, therefore, should be suddenly aroused from sleep, as his soul might not have time to return. The Afawa told me that some of their sub-tribes and certain families had the hereditary power of changing into hyenas, lions, or leopards, and that thus they could wreak vengeance on their enemies, stealing their goods by night, and even compassing their death. The human bodies of these wer-

animals remain sleeping, but their souls enter the bodies of animals. Those endowed with this power never eat the flesh of the animal into which they can transform themselves, and here we have a link with totemic ideas.

Further, there is the idea of the bush-soul. Every man has his animal counterpart, a conception allied to what Sir James Fraser distinguishes as the personal totem. As the Romans believed that a man's welfare was bound up with that of his genius, so the Angas and many other tribes believe that theirs is linked with the life of some bush-animal. If the animal sickens his human counterpart also falls into ill-health. If a hunter comes across a newly-dead lion in the bush, he knows that when he returns home he will find one of his village friends dead.

Among the Bachama certain animals are thus associated with particular families. There is, for example, a family of hippopotamus, and each member of the family shares his personality with a hippopotamus. So far does he identify himself with his totem animal that in referring to the animal he speaks of him as "I." He will explain any marks on his body as being wounds which he had received when out hunting some other animal. Both sons and daughters receive this power from their mothers.

Among some Makangara certain forms of lunacy are ascribed to the injury or death of the lunatic's animal counterpart. In this we have a possible explanation of the origin of these wer-animal ideas. The lunatic simulates an animal, and so it is thought that animals may be men in disguise, and men may be animals.

Totemism and Exogamy. It will be clear from what has been said of the widespread occurrence of totemic ideas that society was, at one time, among many of the tribes probably organized on a totemic basis. But there are no

tribes in northern Nigeria who are to-day, as far as I know, organized on this basis, *i.e.* of exogamous clan-divisions.¹ There are, nevertheless, plenty of traces of such an organization, as also of the existence of mother-right. People who call themselves *Lions* may have assumed this title for the mere purpose of self-glorification. But they will not call themselves *Frogs* for this reason, and when we find that one section of the Manga calls itself *Lions*, another *Frogs*, and so on, it raises a presumption that these titles are of totemic origin. So also among the Berom, some call themselves frogs, some buffaloes, and some hyenas; and among the Jukun there were leopard, lion, elephant, and wild-cat totems. The Yoruba appear in ancient times to have had leopard and elephant totems, and those who respected these animals were known as "Sons of leopards" or "Sons of elephants."

On the other hand, many of the tribal titles simply mean "The Men." This may be an assertion that the tribes have passed beyond the totemic stage. They will no longer be called animals—they are *Men*. Nevertheless, Andrew Lang's view is to be reckoned with, that totemic names were originally sobriquets, *i.e.* were conferred on a group by its neighbours. Thus they might have begun by calling themselves "The Men," and have ended by adopting the nickname by which they were generally known. We can see this process at work in Nigeria to-day. For the names by which many of the tribes are known are nicknames given by others, and not the names by which they call themselves. Yet in speaking to strangers they will refer to themselves by their nickname.

Typical exogamous clans appear to have been the

¹ I now (1925) find that many tribes are so organized, being composed of enlarged families or gentes which are exogamous units and frequently also totemic.



Fig. 65. A Buzu from French Sudan



Fig. 66. A negroid Arab

Mahalbawa or *hunters* of Katsina, the Rumawa of Kano, the Durbawa and Yan Gido of Katsina ; all were formerly exogamous, *i.e.* the men of the clan would not marry women who had the same totem as themselves : they had to marry outside. The Maguzawa had also apparently exogamous clan-divisions. The Yan Gido are said to have preferred intermarriage with women who had the same totem as their mothers, *i.e.* pythons would not marry pythons, and they preferred marrying lions to crocodiles. The Borom (or " Burumawa ") had apparently exogamous clan-divisions. Those whose totem was the elephant married women of another totem, and the children followed the totem of the father. Yoruba who are worshippers of the same *Orisha* may not intermarry.

On the other hand, rules of local exogamy are commonly enforced, presumably on grounds of original kinship relationship. The Kona and Pongo for this reason forbid marriage between people belonging to the same section of a village, and among many of the Nasarawa tribes, who are organized for marriage purposes on a territorial and not a totemic basis, exogamous rules are enforced as between villages. No Gana-Gana may marry one of his own village, and the reason assigned is that each village has its own religious customs, and no people who share the same religious customs may intermarry. Local groupings in this tribe appear to take the place of totemic divisions. Some Gwari insist on people of the same totem marrying, and the reason given to me for this is interesting. In the event of the father's death, they said, the children cannot be neglected by the wife's family on the ground that they have a different totem to their own.

Most tribes formerly forbade marriage outside the tribe. But nowadays these rules are broken down, though fre-

quently some tribes will refuse intermarriage with certain other tribes. Thus the Waja intermarry with any of their neighbours except the Tula and Longuda. Among other tribes, again, *e.g.* the Jukun, men might marry outside the tribe, but women could only marry fellow tribesmen. This appears to have been a general rule among peoples who were conquerors.

Marriage

Pre-nuptial Relations. In this chapter it is proposed to discuss the question of marriage in its relation to the social system, leaving to chapter vii. the account of the arrangement of marriage and of the marriage ceremonial.

We may begin by making a few preliminary observations on the subject of pre-nuptial relations. Among the Hausa and many other tribes¹ there is a custom known as *tsaranchi*, by which young unmarried boys and girls sleep together with the connivance of their parents. A lad may in this way sleep constantly with a maid to whom he is betrothed, or he may sleep with various maids with a view to making up his mind which one he will marry. He may even spend the night with a maid who is betrothed to another. If the girl becomes enceinte both the young people are disgraced; for great importance is usually attached to pre-nuptial chastity. Seducers of virgins are severely punished, and among most tribes a young husband who finds that his newly wedded wife is not a virgin can claim the return from her parents of some of his pre-nuptial gifts.

A Hausa husband who discovers that the girl he has married is not *virgo intacta* will proclaim her shame to the entire town by breaking a pot outside his house. A

¹ Awok, Bolewa, Borok, Chum, Galambe, Kamuku, Longuda, Tangale, Tula, Waja, and many Southern Nigerian and French Sudanese tribes.

Yoruba who finds that he has married a chaste woman sends some pure white cowries to her mother on the ensuing day, but if otherwise he sends her some old discoloured ones. A Bolewa husband signifies his approval of his young wife by sending a gift of a sheep to his mother-in-law. Parents, indeed, are held to be responsible for their children's chastity, and this is seen in the common custom of fining the parents of a girl who has been seduced.

Among most Fulani sub-tribes custom forbids all social intercourse between young people who are betrothed. On the other hand, we find pre-nuptial intercourse recognized by certain tribes as a kind of trial marriage. Thus the Piri suitor cohabits with his fiancée for a period of four months in her mother's compound. Chamba girls frequently bear children before marriage, and young men are proud to marry these young mothers. No stigma attaches to the Borom girl who bears a child before her marriage. The child is claimed by the girl's family, unless the father of the child was the girl's betrothed and he had paid the bride-price in full.

Hona boys and girls who are betrothed may cohabit, but if the girl conceives, the youth has to make additional payments to her father, presumably on the ground that her fertility has been proved.

The custom by which young girls are thus placed under the care of their fiancés before they have reached marriageable age is notable. It is not an uncommon practice among some Fulani sub-tribes, and we find it also among the Kona, Margi, Mumuye, and Mumbake. It is also a feature of the Mosi group of tribes (most of whom are situated in French territory). The object appears to be twofold: (a) the responsibility for the girl's upbringing

and chastity is thrown on the fiancé's family; (b) the appropriation of the girl by her fiancé is thus clearly signified.

Among the Margi the young girl goes to her suitor's house at the age of seven for a period of two months. The Kona maiden sleeps with her betrothed from the age of eight. If she conceived by another man her fiancé would claim the child (but a child so born cannot inherit property).

The Sura and Zumper do not regard pre-nuptial sexual intercourse with disfavour; and among the Lala, and their offshoot the Yungur, fathers cohabit with their sons' wives until the son is old enough to be initiated into the tribe. In the same tribe also, young bachelors commonly live together in colonies with the purpose of being free to go abroad at night and sleep where they please. A young girl who becomes enceinte is made to abort, the foetus being compressed externally between two iron rings. The girl's parents are in such cases given three goats as compensation by the young man—not apparently because the girl's price has been lowered in the marriage market, but because the girl's family would normally be entitled to claim the child.

In concluding these remarks on pre-nuptial relations it only remains to add that among all the tribes a man can repudiate his betrothal at any time without the payment of damages. He loses, however, the gifts he had made to his betrothed and her parents. If, however, it is the maiden who breaks off the engagement, the young man is entitled to a refund of all his gifts, and to compensation for any farm work he may have performed for his fiancée's family.

Kinship Marriage. In countries where society is organized on the basis of the totemic clan, marriage is

regulated by rules which have nothing to do with genealogical relationship. But in Nigeria, where the patrilineal family is the principal form of social grouping, marriage is regulated purely by kinship considerations. There are fixed prohibited degrees within which marriage would be incest. These degrees vary considerably among the different tribes. Thus the marriage of any cousins would be regarded as incest among most of the animistic tribes, but among some tribes the marriage of first cousins only would be discountenanced. Among Muslims the marriage of first cousins is permitted, but the marriage of cross cousins is superior to that of parallel cousins. Marriage with the widow of the mother's brother is generally prohibited, but the Gwari practise this form of marriage. It would be incest among most of the tribes for half-brothers and half-sisters to marry, but such marriages are not uncommon among the Yoruba. Levirate and sororate marriages are allowed by some tribes and prohibited by others.

Levirate Marriage. The term levirate is applied to those cases in which a man marries his deceased brother's wife ; that of sororate to those in which a man marries his wife's sister. Levirate marriage is widely distributed in the Northern Provinces, and is intimately connected with the idea of woman as heritable property which must be kept in the family. This is shown in the custom common in many tribes, of allowing the inherited widow to redeem her freedom by refunding the bride-price which her deceased husband originally paid. This form of marriage also facilitates the acquisition of additional wives and the increase of the family.

Levirate marriage is generally of the junior type, *i.e.* a junior brother may marry a senior brother's widows, but

a senior brother cannot marry a junior's. The Fulani, in particular, have a very definite rule in this respect, and the idea seems to be that the property of the senior brother is family property which must be passed on undiminished, whereas the property of the junior brother bears a more personal character. Further, there is the idea of seniority, by which the elder brother is often regarded as being a full generation senior to a younger brother.¹ Finally, it should be remembered that normally the elder brother predeceases the younger, and the normal among primitive peoples tends to become the legal.

The junior levirate is thus almost universal, but among some pagan tribes (*e.g.* the Mumuye, Lala, and Jarawa) the senior levirate is permissible (though not usual); while among other tribes (*e.g.* the Bata), though the elder brother may not marry his younger brother's widows, he is, nevertheless, permitted to dispose of them and receive the bride-price.

Among some tribes the levirate is only practised to a limited extent. The Nasarawa Gana-Gana, for example, permit the younger brother to inherit only one of his elder brother's widows, while among the Jarawa, if a man leaves four widows, one of these must be handed over by the younger brother to the dead man's son.

What happens then to the widows of a junior brother among the tribes where the senior levirate is not allowed? In some cases the senior brother may dispose of them as he thinks fit, in others (*e.g.* Kakanda, Igara, Igbira, and Basa) they pass to the son of the next senior brother. Among the Muslim peoples they are usually free to marry whom they please.

¹ Among the Hausa an elder brother-in-law has the same seniority as a father-in-law, the word *surki* being applied to both.

Sororate Marriage. We shall see later that among some tribes, if a man's wife dies (generally within five years from the date of marriage) he is entitled to the refund of the whole or part of the bride-price. It is no doubt with a view to avoiding this refund that we find the custom of marriage with the deceased wife's sister (though the cementing of the family ties may also be an object). This type of marriage is less widely distributed than the levirate, but it is found among the Gamawa, Jarawa, and Igara, and many other tribes. Most tribes, however, definitely forbid it, notably those, like the Vere, where matriarchal customs still survive.

The Idoma and Okpoto appear to regard it as permissible to marry their first wife's sister during her lifetime—a practice which was followed by some of the kings of Songhai (*e.g.* Za Yasiboi).

Cousin Marriage. Among Muslim peoples generally the marriage of first cousins is not merely permitted, but encouraged, as it is possible thereby to keep property within the family. Among Nigerian Muslims such a marriage is known as "*auren zumunta*" or "kinship marriage." It would appear, however, that among the rank and file of Muslims the marriage of parallel cousins is regarded with less favour than that of cross cousins. Among the pagan tribes first cousin marriage would usually be regarded as an incestuous union, the cousins being classified in the relationship system as brothers and sisters. Thus the Igbira, Basa, Vere, Berom, Rukuba, Gana-Gana, Arago, Gupa, Gade, Ngamo, Angas, and many other tribes forbid the marriage of all (including second) cousins. The Mbula, Gwari, Munshi, and Mum-bake allow the marriage of second but not of first cousins. Among the Angas the tabu on cousin marriage is

occasionally broken—the young pair making a sacrificial offering of a goat to ward off the evil consequences of what would otherwise be an incestuous union.

The Koro and Kugama permit the marriage of first cousins, and I was told that the Jukun also formerly allowed this type of marriage, but do so no longer. The Idoma, on the other hand, never allowed the marriage of first cousins.

The whole of this subject requires a great deal more study than I have been able to give to it. The classificatory titles used generally reveal the presence or absence of prohibitions against cousin-marriage, and a complete account of the distribution of cousin-marriage might lead to important ethnological clues.

Other Kinship Marriages. Sons inherit and marry their fathers' wives among the Yagba, Aworo, Owe, Bunu, and other Yoruba tribes, and among the Munshi, Idoma, Gana-Gana, Ayu, Makangara, Kamuku, and Zumper. This practice is also followed by the Shilluk of the Egyptian Sudan. A man's own mother is, of course, excluded from the rule. Curious relationships follow from this practice, as a man's half-brother may also be his step-son, and his mother may be his sister-in-law (*i.e.* the wife of his half-brother). A Gwari may marry the younger sister of the wife of a half-brother (same fathers) but not of a full brother—an indication that descent in this tribe was reckoned matrilineally.

Again, among other tribes (*e.g.* the Gade, Arago, Gwari, Igbira, Koro, and Nupe) a man may marry his step-grandmother, *i.e.* the widow of a paternal or maternal grandfather. He may not, however, marry the mother of either of his parents. Marriage with the mother's brother's widows is not uncommon, being found for

example among the Gwari and Koro. The effect of such marriages on the relationship terminology will be noticed later (p. 239).

Marriage of Slaves. With regard to slave-marriages a few remarks need only be made here. Masters could marry off their slaves as they pleased. Thus a master who had a female slave could give her in marriage to the male slave of a friend, and would obtain both the marriage price and the rights over any children born of the marriage. Or an owner of a female slave could give her as a concubine to a member of his family. In such cases, however, the girl's consent was generally obtained, and if she subsequently bore a child, or even had a miscarriage, she became a free woman. Masters also commonly freed their female slaves in a court of law, and gave them in marriage to freemen.

Polygyny. Polygyny, or the system by which one man marries more than one woman, is by all the tribes recognized as legitimate; but in practice it is, for biological and economic reasons, the privilege of the wealthy few.

While the more important pagan chiefs may have as many as a hundred wives, and the Muslim potentates may, in addition to their four legitimate wives, keep hundreds of concubines, the poor are compelled by necessity to remain monogamous. There is not usually any restriction on the number of wives, but occasionally we find a limit fixed by law (*e.g.* among the Kona only chiefs and sons of chiefs could have more than three wives). Polygyny and concubinage are the inevitable consequence of the inter-tribal wars which prevailed until a few years ago. The male captives were slain or enslaved, and the females became the wives or concubines of their captors. The levirate system also facilitates the acquisition of

additional wives, and the custom which forbids sexual relations with a wife who is weaning a child is a further encouragement of polygyny. But perhaps the strongest incentive of all is the great desire of the Negro to beget as many children as possible. Children are an economic asset of the first importance, and no man can attain a position of real political power unless he has the backing of a large family. Nor does it appear that polygyny is distasteful to the women, for it is commonly the wife who incites the husband to add to the number of his wives, no doubt with a view to lightening her domestic burdens.

The first wife is the favourite, the others occupying a somewhat inferior position, having to perform the more menial duties of the household. But the position of a junior wife is greatly enhanced as soon as she bears a child. Each wife has her own hut, and, if the wives agree together, they have their meals in common, the first wife presiding and the others sitting round in order of precedence.

Among the Nupe the principal wife alone sits upright at meals, the others being required to adopt a crouching attitude as a token of subservience. In addition to his wives a man may have concubines. These are captives obtained in war or bought in a slave-market, gifts from one man to another, or the offspring of female household slaves. Concubines are at the disposal of their masters, but a concubine who has borne a child to her Muslim master cannot be sold. She may even marry her master, provided he first sets her free and has not already more than three wives. Among some pagan tribes, *e.g.* the Munshi, women captured in war could attain the full status of wives.

Polyandry is the system of marriage in which one woman marries more than one man. How far we may say this is prevalent in the Northern Provinces depends on the precision with which we define polyandry. In the truest form of polyandry the wife has simultaneously two or more recognized husbands who share her marital favours. True polyandry is thus to be distinguished from *cicisbeism*, which is the counterpart of concubinage, *i.e.* the woman has a male partner in sexual relations, but if children are born to this union the *cicisbeo* is not the legal father.

Now among many of the tribes there is a form of marriage known generally as the *zaga*, which has points in common with the looser forms of polyandry and also with *cicisbeism*. *Zaga* is a recognized system of wife-abduction. It is found chiefly among the tribes of the central belt (notably the Gwari, Bankalawa, Kamberi, Yaurawa, Angas, Bachama, Jarawa, Denu, Seiyawa, Mbarawa, Paiemawa, Pe, Angas, Anaguta, Yergum, Teria, Lungu (Nungu), Zul, Zaranda, Munshi, and Rukuba). The abductor lives generally in a neighbouring village, and he arranges with the wife to take her privily to his own house. The robbed husband may follow the runaway up, and recover his wife by force ; but if the abductor succeeds in reaching his village the first husband makes no further direct effort to recover his wife, who, unless her parents intervene and return her to her husband, now becomes the recognized spouse of her abductor. The abductor gets his wife to pacify her former husband, and also endeavours by gifts to secure the favour of her parents. Young children by the first husband frequently (*e.g.* among the Kamberi and Yaurawa) remain with their mother until they grow up, when they are returned to the father. In the event of a child dying before its return the father can

bring an action for compensation. Though the child begotten by the *cicisbeo* belongs to the legal father, it is frequently, *e.g.* among the Kona, excluded from the number of his heirs.

The children born subsequently to the elopement belong to the original husband, but there are certain exceptions to this rule, and also various other points which occasionally seem to give to the new union a polyandrous character. Thus among the Lungu the first husband claims two out of every three children subsequently born, *i.e.* the second husband is not simply a *cicisbeo*. Again, among some Jarawa the first child born to the new husband goes to the former husband, the second husband taking the succeeding ones. Further (*e.g.* among the Rukuba and Jarawa), the abductor establishes his position as a co-husband by gifts to the girl's parents, and I was given to understand by the Anaguta, Rukuba, Jarawa, and Pe, that the children belonged in all cases to the actual father.¹

Among the Gwari a man who captures another's wife is under no obligation to repay the former husband, and the children born to him are his. A Gwari woman may indeed have several husbands and families in different towns, living now with one, now with another, as she feels inclined. As the children belong not to the first husband but to the actual father, we have here a fairly close approximation to true polyandry. As a general rule, however, the *zaga* wife-abductor remains a *cicisbeo* until the former husband chooses to accept from him an equivalent of the bride-price originally given to the girl's parents. Until this is done the husband has a claim on all children

¹ But in the case of the abduction of a betrothed girl any children born by the abductor would be claimed by the girl's fiancé (Jarawa).

born by the abductor, and the *zaga* is a temporary union only and cannot be regarded as a marriage. The cicisbean character of the *zaga* is well illustrated by the custom among the Warji that as soon as the runaway wife conceives by the cicisbeo she must forthwith return to her husband.

Among the Teria the runaway wife is allowed to live with her abductor for one year, and at the end of this time she must return.

The theft of young wives from men who are getting old is especially frequent ; but rather than lose the domestic services of his spouse an elderly man will often (*e.g.* among the Jarawa) give a younger man free access to his compound, and he will, of course, have a full claim on any children which result.

Among the Lala and Ankwe also we find a custom which reminds us of a variety of polyandry found among some Indian peoples. The bride consorts in the first instance with the bridegroom's father. Among the Lala the bridegroom may resist his father, but if he is not strong enough to do so the father has sexual relations with the bride until she has thrice conceived. Children thus conceived are not permitted to be born, abortion being procured by means of bandages fastened tightly around the abdomen. There is also a suggestion of polyandry in the custom of the Keri-Keri, Ngizim, and Ngamo, by which the seducer of a man's wife is required to pay to the husband the equivalent of half the bride-price. This payment gives the adulterer a recognized status as regards the woman, and permits him, during the husband's absence, to have legitimate sexual relations with her. He does not, however, acquire any rights over the children, and so must be regarded as a concubitant rather than a co-husband.

Among the Zul the many suitors for a virgin's hand

work on her father's farm, and those who are unsuccessful hope in time to be repaid by becoming *cicisbei*.

Sexual Communism. This brings us to the subject of sexual communism. Berom and Jarawa husbands commonly invite friends to sleep with their wives. This custom (which is found among many African tribes, *e.g.* the Ewe-speaking peoples of Dahomey, the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast, and the Bahima of East Africa) is regarded as an act of reciprocal hospitality. It is said of the pagan Fulani also that husbands will allow any strong, well-built man—even a slave—to have sexual relations with their wives with a view to acquiring healthy vigorous children.

The Warji bride returns to her home after four days, and remains there until the birth of her first child. During this interval she may have sexual relations with any man she likes, but the child is reckoned as the husband's. Among the Malabu, a woman who is unfruitful by her husband, may have intercourse with any one she likes. Among the Munshi sons cohabit with their father's wives when the fathers have become old men. Among the Yoruba of Osi every male in a compound has access to every female, except in cases of close consanguinity. Sons have access to their father's wives (their own mothers excepted), and even young brides are free to all. The Ekiti Yoruba have a similar custom.

Wife-lending is said to be common among the pagan nomad Fulani—even for considerable periods. It is practised among the Kotonkoro Kamuku, and a childless woman is commonly lent to her husband's brother or son.

Among the Yoruba impotent old men constantly lend their young wives to young men in consideration of farm-work. The children belong to the legal husband.

Among the Lala, where men are in excess of women, some of the younger bachelors live in groups and obtain wives for themselves by raiding the compounds of senior men. They are supposed to refund the bride-price, but in practice seldom do so.

Types of Marriage. There are four principal types of marriage: (a) by purchase; (b) by exchange; (c) by capture; (d) by elopement.

Purchase is the only marriage recognized by Muslims, but among the pagan tribes the marriage system may be any one of the four methods mentioned above, and in some tribes two or more of these systems may be found co-existing, each entailing its own special obligations.

Marriage by purchase assumes that the woman is a transferable piece of property. The man buys by gifts, or service to her parents, complete rights over the woman and her subsequent progeny. This is shown by the restrictions which are placed on his rights if he fails to make his payments or if they are deficient. Thus among the Munshi a man may marry a virgin without making any payments, but he thereby forfeits his claim on their children.

Among some tribes the purchase price is recoverable if the girl proves barren (Mada and Mumuye), or should the wife die childless (Ninzam, Ron, Tangale, and South African tribes, *e.g.* Thonga). Among the Ron, if the wife dies young, but leaves issue, part only of the bride-price is recoverable. The bride-price is usually recoverable if the wife deserts her husband, but in some cases, *e.g.* among the Waja, it is not recoverable if the wife has borne children. The concept of the woman as the personal property of the husband is further illustrated by the rule that she can be inherited like any other property.

Where the payments are small the idea of purchase has receded, and the best Muslim parents refuse to exact a high dowry, on the ground that they would be selling their daughters.¹ Those less scrupulous give their daughters to the highest bidder, and the general tendency of this is to raise the age of marriage and to place poor men at a disadvantage. (To counteract this several of the Muslim Emirs have recently suggested that a maximum sum as a dowry should be fixed by law. In strict Muhammadan law there is no maximum limit fixed, though there is a recognized minimum.)

Sometimes the payments do not cease on marriage. They are continued or not according as the girl proves herself to be a satisfactory wife. Thus the Warji husband presents his parents-in-law with two gowns after he has lived with his wife some time and found her well behaved. The Afawa present 4000 cowries to the girl's father after the birth of her first child, and so on.

In addition to the various pecuniary payments, agricultural service, extending over many years, is often exacted from the prospective son-in-law. Such service is, no doubt, primarily regarded as the equivalent or part of the bride-price, for among some tribes (*e.g.* the Idoma) the various pecuniary payments can be remitted partly or wholly by farm-service. But that it is also regarded as a test of the lad's character and farming ability is shown by the Dakakari custom that on no account may money payments be accepted in lieu of the elaborate system of farm-service prescribed. The suitor can, it is true, em-

¹ The dowry among Muslims theoretically becomes the property of the wife, and the best classes of Nigerian Muslim parents would not think of appropriating any of their daughter's dower. Fulani parents usually also hand over to their daughter the young suitor's pre-marriage gifts, but among other Muslim tribes these gifts are kept by the parents.

ploy other men to assist him to fulfil his contract, but parents would regard direct payments to them as differing little from a system of slavery. The Dakakari, in this respect, present a contrast to the Keri-Keri, Ngamo, and Ngizim, among whom the purchase price is very high, and the social status of the woman correspondingly low. Agricultural service also gives the young girl a chance of seeing her suitor or suitors frequently, and is thus often a preliminary to marriage by elopement, which is the reverse of the purchase system, being an assertion of complete independence on the part of the young people. Thus among the Kamberi the various suitors for a girl's hand go to work on her father's farm. In course of time she makes her choice and arranges secretly with her lover to elope. This they do at night-time, and subsequently hold a feast, the parents making no attempt to retrieve their daughter.

Farm-service is also a discipline for the young man. He must treat his parents-in-law with the greatest respect. (It would, among the Idoma, be an act of disrespect to throw down a bundle of faggots with a clatter near the father-in-law's house!) In some cases, however, farm-service has become a mere formality. Thus the Afawa suitor only works on his father-in-law's farm for two days in the year, and the Barke suitor is only required to work for a single day. Occasionally (*e.g.* among the Sangawa and Chawai), where marriage by exchange is the rule, if a man has no available sister to exchange, he can obtain a wife by a period of agricultural service rendered to his prospective father-in-law.

Under the purchase-system a man will often (*e.g.* as among the Waja) give his daughter to another in liquidation of a debt or of some other obligation.

Marriage by Exchange. In marriage by exchange two men agree to exchange their sisters as brides. The girl exchanged may be the man's own sister, or a sister in the classificatory sense, *i.e.* any available female relative.

A Ngwoi father frequently exchanges his daughter in order to add to the number of his wives. The contract is thus not so much a matter of arrangement between two individuals as between two families, and, as in the case of marriage by purchase, the girl is a mere pawn. Unwilling brides may be punished with stocks and starvation (*e.g.* among the Idoma). This form of marriage has a wide distribution, and (to mention only some of the tribes) is practised by the Idoma, Borom, Kudawa, Seiyawa, Jere, Buji, Lala, Anaguta, Munshi, Sangawa, Afo, Rebinawa, Basa, Butawa, Ayu, Ngwoi, Gurkawa, Makangara-Kamuku, Kona, Borok, Wurkum, and Zumper.¹ The Galambe, and no doubt many other tribes, formerly practised marriage by exchange, but have now abandoned it for the purchase-system.

There are a few points deserving notice in this system of exchange. Among the Kona a man who has already got a wife may not exchange a sister to obtain a second wife until the other adult members of the family have also obtained a wife. A man who had no available sister could in some cases (*e.g.* among the Sangawa) give money payments in return for his bride.

Among the Butawa one so placed would buy a slave-girl and keep her in his house, to be used later as a sister in a marriage exchange. If a husband is deserted by his wife, he can recall the sister he had given in exchange, together with any children she had borne. If the number

¹ M. Delafosse notes the prevalence of marriage by exchange in his Senufo group of tribes.

of children was in both families the same, the children might (as among the Ayu) be allowed to remain with their father. Occasionally, however (*e.g.* among the Kudawa) a deserted husband would, instead of recalling his sister, accept pecuniary compensation. In some cases (*e.g.* among the Munshi and Kudawa) the children always remain with the father. Again, if a wife had met an untimely death, the widower could claim the return of his sister or demand another sister by way of compensation. But among the Butawa a man thus widowed was generally compensated by a slave-girl only.

Lastly, if one of the exchanged women bears children and the other does not, the husband of the barren woman may declare the contract void, and, should one of the women bear more children than the other, compensation can be claimed by the father of the lesser number (Munshi).

Under the exchange system the brothers and sisters of one family frequently marry the brothers and sisters of another, and their children again intermarry. But among some tribes (*e.g.* the Ayu) care is taken to avoid inbreeding in this way, there being often a definite prohibition against the marriage of cousins.

The Butawa practise marriage by exchange, but they have a curious alternative marriage known in the Hausa language as *auren shan gari*, which apparently means "the flour-eating marriage." In this type of marriage the husband only partially secures the economic service of his wife. She cooks his food, but works on her parents' farm. Male children born of this marriage belong to the husband, but female children are claimed by the wife's family—a survival, no doubt, of mother-right.

Marriage by Capture. Women of one tribe were commonly captured in war by men of another, but marriage

by capture as a normal mode of mating can only be said to exist to a limited extent. Most of the recorded cases of marriage by capture are those of elopement thinly disguised, for the capture is never effected without the girl's consent previously obtained. The seizure and carrying off of the bride, which is often an integral part of the marriage ceremonies (whether the marriage is one of purchase, exchange, or elopement), may be a dramatic representation of a system of bride-capture formerly in vogue, but it is more probably symbolic of the captor's superior power and adroitness, and perhaps also an assertion of the patrilocal as against the matrilocal principle.

On the other hand, if we regard marriage as a contract between two families, and not merely between two individuals, then the idea of capture becomes more prominent, and the fact that the girl's consent has been previously obtained is only a mitigating circumstance. The bride's parents have in all cases to be subsequently pacified by gifts.

A few instances will illustrate these points. The Chamba suitor "steals" his bride with her connivance, and announces the theft to the parents-in-law by leaving an arrow or hoe on their doorstep. But the capture is fictitious, for the young man has been an accepted suitor for years.

The Yashikera (Kaiama) suitor captures his bride with the assistance of a band of young men, and the bride screams as she is carried off. But the bride is privy to the intended capture, and only a feigned resistance is offered.

Among the Kushaka Gwari and the Irigwe, the bride is also carried off at night with her consent, and the parents are propitiated afterwards with the gift of a goat and pullet.

Among the Igbira the bride is ignorant of the intended capture, but her parents are privy, and prior to the capture there is a ritual sacrifice of a chicken, which is the equivalent of the marriage ceremony.

Among the Afawa the accepted suitor who has fulfilled his agricultural contract, and made his other payments, snatches his bride away on an appointed day. The Angas, Kagoma, and Basange have a similar custom. This may be a concession to the girl's sense of maidenly modesty, or to the feelings of the parents, who simulate vexation and will not acknowledge that they can willingly part with their daughter.

Even in cases of marriage by exchange the semblance of capture is maintained. Thus among the Basa the bride is caught unawares by the bridegroom's friends and carried off to his compound. After three days the bridegroom informs the bride's father and agrees to give a sister in exchange, or if he has no available sister, then the first daughter that is born to them.

The Munshi commonly elope with their brides, and the young man's success is hailed as a triumph for his family. The idea of capture is here certainly present, but the marriage does not nowadays become legal unless the bride's family accepts a leg of mutton from the bridegroom.

Among the Angas and Jarawa the seizure of the girl has an even greater semblance of actual capture, for the captor is accompanied by a body of young men from his village, and to obtain the bride they have to encounter and defeat the young men of the invaded village. The girl may already have a suitor acknowledged by herself and her parents. He is duly compensated by the captor, who also appeases the parents with gifts. But in no case is a girl carried off unless she has previously secretly signified her

willingness. It is only during the harvest-festivals that brides are captured by the Angas in this way. The significance of the capture in these two cases may be the reflection of former conditions under which women were forced to marry certain members of their own community.

In conclusion, it is to be noted that, among many tribes, chiefs had the privilege of claiming any girl to whom they took a fancy. But among the Jukun the father of the girl could effectively protest by reminding the chief that he was their "father," and that a father could not rightfully marry his own daughter.

Marriage by Elopement. We have already referred to elopement as a regular method of contracting marriage. The "capture" of wives by the *zaga* method ought, perhaps, to be regarded only as cicisbeism, or at most as a trial marriage, for the runaway wife frequently returns to her first love. But the *zaga* system is also employed for the abduction of virgins who may already have been affianced. As these girls are not carried off against their will the marriage must be classed as one by elopement.

The tribes who practise this system have already been enumerated as being also those who practise the abduction of wives. The young people arrange the night for the elopement, the parents being kept in ignorance. (Sometimes, however, *e.g.* among the Zaranda, the girl's mother may be taken into their confidence.) The abductors leave presents of hoes before the hut of the girl's parents, and this is the first announcement the parents receive of their daughter's runaway match.

Among the Yergum the parents immediately inform the girl's maternal uncle, who expresses his satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the number of hoes presented. Steps are then taken to ascertain their daughter's place of abode.



Fig. 67. An Irigwe girl
Bauchi Province



Fig. 68. An Irigwe girl -
Bauchi Province

Meanwhile the young pair live a secluded life on a diet of porridge. If at the end of ten days the parents come and greet their daughter, this is a sign that the marriage is approved, and a great feast is held, over which the girl's maternal uncle presides. But if the parents ignore the young couple it is a sign of displeasure, and the bridegroom would have no alternative but to send his bride home again. This is the Yergum custom, and it resembles that of the Jarawa, among whom sexual relations between a runaway couple are tabu until the girl's parents have given formal consent to the marriage. Some Jarawa told me that if there had been sexual relations and the girl had become enceinte, her parents might still insist on her return to her acknowledged fiancé, and that the child born would be reckoned as his. The Anaguta have a similar rule. But among most of the other tribes mentioned the runaway daughter would not be restored. If she had been affianced to some one else the abductor would repay her fiancé any payments he had made to her parents. Among some tribes (*e.g.* the Denu) only a portion of these payments are repaid.

Marriage Ceremonies and Divorce. The question of divorce will be discussed later, and a description of marriage ceremonies will be given in Chapter VII.

Artificial Relationships

Marriage of Women to Women. There is a curious and ancient custom found among some of the Yoruba, Yagba, Akoko, Nupe, and Gana-Gana communities—that of a woman going through a regular form of matrimony with other women.

In the Osi district a barren woman will formally marry a young girl and hand her over to her husband with a view

to bearing children—as Hagar was given by Sarah to Abraham. But a more striking example of this type of marriage is where a wealthy woman, who may or may not be normally married to a man, contracts a marriage with a young girl to whom she subsequently allows a *cicisbeo* to have access, the resultant children belonging to the female “husband.” This is a common practice among the Yoruba, Nupe, Akoko, and Gana-Gana, and the female “husband” will even pay men to have connection with her young “wife.” In some cases she exacts gifts or farm-service from the *cicisbei*. All the ceremonial of marriage is observed in these marriages of women to women, and a bride-price is even paid to the young girl’s father. The usual rules of divorce apply. The legal “husband” can divorce her “wife” and recover her dowry, and if the young girl runs off with a man she can claim the resultant children as her own. The marriage of women to women is not regarded with disfavour, and the chiefs will even consent to their daughters being married in this way. There are cases in other parts of the world of men being married to men.

Among the Dinka of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan there is a similar custom. Widows marry young girls, whom they hand over to men, and the offspring are regarded as children of the widow and her dead husband. The custom may have had its origin in sexual perversity, but it is more probable that we have here simply a case of the adoption of children by means of a legal fiction which makes a woman their father. Just as tribes adopt strangers by the fiction of the blood covenant, and the Kabyls and the ancient Egyptians made other people’s children their own by the ritual ceremony of suckling, so the Yoruba woman becomes a “father” by a crude symbolism which makes

her the husband of another woman. There may be the further conception that in consequence of this rite the spirit of her dead ancestors will consent to be reborn in the womb of the young woman she has married.

We may note that among Muslims adoption is not recognized, and has no legal sanction.

Marriage to Inanimate Objects. Only one case of marriage to an inanimate object has, so far, come to my notice. Among the Zaria Gwari the son who succeeds his father as chief is ceremonially married to a dagger. The dagger is smeared with blood, and the elders address the dagger, saying, "Dagger, behold thy husband. We marry thee to him. May he and his people prosper, for the sake of his father and his forefathers." Here we may have a survival of some totemic conception, and it has a parallel in the Gou custom by which dancing girls are ceremonially wedded to daggers before they may follow their profession.¹

Blood Brotherhood. Artificial relationship between individuals and tribes is also established by means of the blood covenant. This custom is followed among the Basa, Baushi, Igara, Kamuku, Kakanda, Igbira, Apa, Gwari, Okpoto, Ngwoi, Zumper, and various other tribes.

Among the Basa and Gwari the parties to the contract slit their arms close to the wrists, and then they suck each other's blood. This is the method which Sir H. M. Stanley reported as followed by the Rubunga, and among the Wanyoro the parties to the covenant also drink each other's undiluted blood. The Kamuku, Apa, Baushi, Kakanda, and Igara do not drink the brother's blood directly, but smear it on an intermediary substance, which they eat. Thus the Apa, Igbira, Igara, and Kakanda take blood from the wrists of the contracting parties and

¹ See Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. i. p. 34.

smear it on a kola-nut, which is then divided and eaten—a custom resembling that of the Buganda, as recorded by Mr. Roscoe.

The Kamuku, Baushi, and Ngwoi custom is for the entire male population of the contracting towns to meet together, and slay and cut up a goat and sheep. Blood is then taken from the arm of a boy of each township, and this is smeared on the pieces of meat. The meat is then rubbed in ashes, and is eaten by the men of the other town. This method appears to be followed elsewhere in Africa among the Masai, Wasagara, Wazaramo, and Wazeguro. The Zumper were blood brothers of the men of Takum. The sons of the contracting chiefs had their wrists slit, and the blood was allowed to mingle with water in a calabash. The two sons drank the mixture, and the chiefs then said, "Our blood has now been mingled. If henceforth we kill or sell the members of each other's tribe, then may we swell up and die."

Gwari and Zumper husbands and wives who were deeply attached to one another were wont in former times to swear their troth by means of the blood ceremony. Here among these primitive people we find the highest conception of marriage—a monogamous union consecrated by a sacramental rite.

Other means than the use of blood are occasionally employed for setting up a covenant of brotherhood. Thus the Kamuku of Koriga and Kwongoma go through a ritual ceremony of shaving, which establishes between them a relationship of kinship and identity. The practical object of these brotherhood covenants is comradeship and mutual aid.

There is a further form of brotherhood which is one of the most characteristic social institutions in the Sudan,

viz. the *abutar wasa*, or "comradeship in sport." Certain tribes¹ thus recognize that there is between them some common bond which imposes a special friendship, and permits a special freedom of intercourse.

Those who are *abokanen wasa* would refrain from selling each other as slaves; they are bound to assist each other whenever possible, and at the end of the year they show a licence towards each other which permits one individual of a tribe to demand small sums of money from an individual of the comrade tribe. They may engage in friendly horseplay, and any physical injury accidentally done on such occasions would be disregarded. Tribes who are *abokanen wasa* to each other regard themselves as having a common origin—they are cousins, so to speak.

In a great many cases such tribes are, in point of fact, of the same ethnic stock, but as we find cases of tribes of different ethnic stock who are *abokin wasa* (e.g. Fulani with Beri-Beri, Jukun with Beri-Beri and Igbira, Nupe with Katsina and Gobir Hausa, etc.) we cannot regard this comradeship as giving any reliable ethnic clues. The most that we can deduce from the institution is that there was a geographical proximity at some time, and possibly also a certain amount of intermarriage. Sections of tribes may be *abokanen wasa* with other sections, and there are instances also of tribes who are *abokanen wasa*, not with other tribes, but with occupational guilds. Thus the Gana-Gana regard themselves as the comrades of all blacksmiths of whatever tribe.

¹ Certain relatives are also *abokanen wasa* with each other (as has been recorded also of Melanesian and North American tribes). A Gwari, for example, is *abokin wasa* with (1) his grandparents on both sides, (2) his wife's younger brother, (3) his maternal uncle's wife, (4) his elder brother's wife, (5) his elder or younger sister's husband, (6) his wife's younger sister's husband. See further pp. 234-239.

Dissolution of Marriage

Muslim. According to Muslim canon law there are four recognized methods of obtaining divorce: (a) by repudiation (*talaq*); (b) by mutual consent (*khul'*); (c) by imprecation (*li'an*); (d) by *faskh*, whereby marriage is annulled by the magistrates for a variety of special reasons. A few remarks need only be made with regard to these well-known provisions of Muslim law.

By the simple act of repudiation the Muslim husband can annul his marriage without any adequate reason at all. The repudiation is followed by a period of three months, known as *iddah*, during which it can be seen whether the wife is pregnant, in which case the husband can claim the child. During this period he can also withdraw his repudiation and resume his married life.

By repudiating his wife the husband loses his right to reclaim his bride-price—a matter of great consideration to Negro Muslims. A wife can never thus divorce a husband of her own free will. She can only secure the dissolution of her marriage by having recourse to the Alkalis's court and pleading such causes as desertion, sexual impotence, leprosy, neglect, or cruelty. Desertion is the commonest ground for divorce. Nigerian Muslims are great traders, and commonly go off casually for long periods without making any adequate provision for their wives. If wives are deserted thus for ten months the marriage may be dissolved and a fresh one contracted, but it frequently happens that when the first husband returns he again marries his former wife (*auren matafi*). A woman may also divorce her husband for crime, or on application to the court receive permission to contract a fresh marriage during the period of her husband's imprisonment.

A man who is divorced on the grounds of sexual impotence is repaid his dowry and all his pre-marriage gifts. One who marries a woman whom he expected to be a virgin but finds her otherwise can have his marriage annulled and his pre-marriage gifts (but not the formal dowry) returned to him.

With regard to the custody of children, we may note that according to Malikite teaching a woman may be pregnant for seven years. A child, therefore, born so long after the dissolution of marriage may still be regarded as the husband's. In actual practice, however, one period of *iddah* (i.e. three periods of menstruation) is regarded as a sufficient proof that the woman is not pregnant.

The position of women as regards divorce is, under Muslim law, theoretically low, but in practice Nigerian women nowadays obtain divorce in the courts for insignificant reasons. Husbands have little control over their wives, and the frequency of infidelity and divorce is one of the most striking features of the social life of the people. It should be remembered, however, that, as sexual misconduct is not according to Muhammadan law a necessary concomitant of divorce, Muslims do not attach to divorce the same disgrace which is found in Christian countries.

Pagan. Among the pagan tribes the rules regulating the dissolution of marriage vary with the character of the marriage contract. Thus in marriage by exchange the union is dissolved by merely returning the exchange sister. Where purchase is the rule, divorce is concluded by returning to the husband the whole or a major part of the bride-price. If a wife has been acquired by agricultural service, and she abandons her husband for someone else, compensation must be given for his service.

Even where elopement and wife-stealing are recognized

modes of obtaining wives, the wife's abductor usually attempts to regularize his union by having her former marriage annulled, *i.e.* by refunding to her husband all his pre-marriage gifts. Where these gifts are not accepted, and we find the robbed husband entitled to the custody of children subsequently born to the runaway pair, then we are justified in saying that there is no divorce, and the abductor's status is merely that of a concubitant.

Lastly, where tribal custom requires a runaway wife to be returned to her husband or to remain unwed until his death, marriage is regarded as indissoluble, and there is no divorce. A few instances will illustrate these points. Among the Berom the bride-price may be ten goats and one horse. Wife-stealing is recognized, but the abductor must refund the horse though not the goats. A husband, therefore, has every inducement to treat his wife well, but the marriage bond is loose. If a Dakakari wife abandons her husband and marries some one else, her second husband must refund the equivalent of his long system of farm-service. Among the Ganawuri marriage disputes were settled by the ward-head. If the husband was proved to be at fault he lost the custody of his children, but could recover the bride-price; if the wife, she lost the custody of the children and had to repay the bride-price.

Among the Bata and Bachama marriage is dissolved by the co-respondent paying the husband a fixed amount of cloth or number of cattle, and in default of these payments the husband could, in bygone days, sell him into slavery. An Idoma husband could sell an unfaithful wife into slavery if, on the dissolution of marriage, she failed to refund his bride-price.

Among the Baushi either party may repudiate the marriage. The bride-price, all but 1000 cowries, is in the first instance refunded. If the divorcée becomes enceinte within three months, she is not required to refund the additional 1000 cowries, but otherwise she is. In the town of Pongo, however, there is no divorce, *i.e.* there is no compulsory refund of dowry. The same applies to the Gade. There is no dower and no formal dissolution of marriage.

Elopement is common among the Gwari, and no penalty seems to be attached. Among the Kuta Gwari a wife formally dissolves her marriage by ceremonially sweeping out her husband's house and then abandoning him.

An Igbira wife can dissolve her marriage by repayment to her husband of the bride-price and all his pre-marriage gifts. If he refuses to take back his string of cowries he can claim any children subsequently born to his former wife.

Among the Munshi there is a type of marriage known as *Kwosa Ika*, in which the wife's family can claim her back at any time by merely refunding the bride-price to the husband. The children, however, would remain with the father.

Among the Kagoma a woman may abandon her husband when she pleases. She must refund his bride-price, but this need not be done if she has lived with him for five years.

Among the Waja a woman who is seeking dissolution of marriage goes off and lives with some other man. Her husband calls upon her parents to send her back. If she runs away three times her husband then formally applies to her parents for the restoration of his bride-price. The

parents recover this from her paramour, and so the marriage is dissolved. The amount of bride-price recoverable varies with the number of children born. Any children born to the paramour before the repayment of the bride-price belong to the husband, but the paramour can redeem such children by certain payments.

A Jukun wife signifies her intention to dissolve her marriage by breaking the tabu which forbids her to enter her husband's compound during her period of menstruation. When her husband discovers that she has deliberately broken this tabu he bids her, before she leaves, to purge the pollution of his house with gifts of corn and beer to the household deities.

Among the Makangara of Kirembwa wives may repudiate their husbands by paying *twice* the amount of the bride-price.

Among the Yergum, Igara, Basa, and Igbira a runaway wife is forcibly returned to her husband. If after this it is found impossible to continue cohabitation, the husband will return his wife to her family, and there she must remain until her husband's death. If she formed a liaison the husband could take the co-respondent's life. The Irigwe have similar customs.

An Anaguta wife, who is unhappy with her husband, is free to go and live with some one else, and, as there is no refund of dowry and the children belong to the actual father, there is thus no ceremonial dissolution of marriage.

As for the causes which lead to the dissolution of marriage, they are the same as those which operate among civilized peoples. But accusation of witchcraft is a common ground of divorce, and among most of the pagan tribes a wife's sterility entitles a husband to reclaim his bride-price or to recall his exchange sister.

Divorce and marriage disputes are usually settled by the individual families concerned, without reference to any third party, but where arrangement in this way is not possible the elders, religious chief, ward or village head, may be invited to arbitrate.

Among the Yoruba of Ekan divorced women are appropriated by the chief, a custom which is also found in Melanesia.

Mother-right

Kinship terms have in recent years become one of the pivots of anthropology. By the study of kinship terms the investigation of problems such as forbidden degrees in marriage, forms of marriage, changes in the rules of descent, and all the questions bound up therewith, is considerably simplified. Unfortunately the evidence I have been able to collect on this subject is scanty, and particularly so for the main question at issue here, viz. how far there has been a change from matrilineal to patrilineal customs.

The main elements upon which the discussion of mother-right should be based are: (1) Descent (clan or group). (2) Kinship (*i.e.* relationship reckoned through genealogies). (3) Residence in marriage. (4) Authority in the family, including ownership of children. (5) Inheritance of property. (6) Succession to titles.

We may note first that a system may have vanished as a connected whole, leaving portions only of the complex behind in the form of customs or traditions. We may find, for example, survivals such as the importance of the mother's brother, cross-cousin marriage, traditions of a female ancestress and female rulers, and so on. But the existence of a female priesthood does not necessarily depend for its origin or continuance upon any of the main

“ mother-right ” elements cited above. Further, women may hold important positions in public affairs without necessarily owing these positions to the existence of “ mother-right.” When, therefore, we find definite female offices such as *Iya* and *Magajia* among the Gwari, Hausa, and other tribes, and the existence of queens at Zaria (see vol. i. p. 90), we are not justified in concluding that it is a survival of an earlier stage where women were dominant, or where descent was reckoned through them rather than through males. Among the Igara the late king’s daughter became *Ajanogbani* of the palace ; but in view of the complicated rules of succession no interpretation can be put on this without further data.

Among the Jukun the sister of the dead chief was head of the women of the palace, and could cause a drought if the new chief offended her. The late chief’s favourite wife was the counsellor and guardian of the next ruler ; she was called *Ashumotsi*, and her house was an asylum for criminals. With the *Atsukaku*, sister of the late chief, she could veto the choice of the successor, and thus control the succession.

These facts, however, do not indicate more than the importance of women ; it would not appear that either sister or wife had authority in virtue of descent from the mother or other female relative of the chief ; the authority of the wife, indeed, depended on the position of her late husband, and was therefore derived from a male. The same remarks apply to the custom of the Kuseriki Kamuku, who make the chief’s wife guardian of the sacred knife, and also to the important religious position held by the wife of the chief of the Kanam Burumawa.

We have seen in the Daura tradition that queens ruled over the early Hausa states ; and to this day there are

female chiefs among the Gwari and Bachama ; but until we have more information as to how they attained (or attain) the position the interpretation of these facts must remain ambiguous. Of more importance is the tradition that the Hausa kings reckoned descent matrilineally, the name of the father being ignored in the oldest lists of the kings. This need not necessarily mean that the rule was generally observed, for if the line of kings was of foreign origin it is not improbable that they would have a different rule of succession to the mass of the people.

There is, however, collateral evidence that the totemic group was in early times matrilineal. Further, among the Hausa the term for brother means "son of the mother" (*Dan Uwa*) ; this may, however, merely distinguish the brother of the full blood from the half-brother, who is called "son of the father" (*Dan Uba*). It is worth noting that one of the greatest insults you can offer a Hausa is to say to him "Your mother!!" Where one of the parents of a child was a slave the usual rule was that the child took the status of the mother (see p. 292).

There is a tradition among the Ariwa of Sokoto that the founder of the tribe was the son of a king of Bornu who journeyed west and married a pagan woman. It is said that when she had her son marked with her own tribal marks, instead of those of the Beri-Beri, her husband became annoyed and returned to his home in Bornu. Even in this case we cannot be certain that the story implies a condition of "mother-right," for an Englishman may marry a Frenchwoman and bring up his son as a Frenchman without instituting a system of "mother-right." The tribe is not identical with the social group. Among the Semi-Bantu Koro the mother's, not the father's, name is commonly appended to that of her child.

It is said that among the Hona and Mbula matrilineal descent is still the rule, but I have had no opportunity of verifying this statement. Nor is there any evidence that matrilineal marriage properly so-called is found in any tribe. We have seen, however, that in certain cases the husband resides with the wife's family for a time, and subsequently goes to his own home. There can be little doubt that customs connected with the bride-price have exercised a profound influence on the development of social institutions, and have actually in many cases brought about the change from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions—possibly as a result of new ideas that came in with the rise of slavery.

Where a man changes his residence, we require to know when he completes payment of the bride-price, and whether, with the completion, he is vested with the full ownership, so far as tribal custom permits it, of the person of his wife. If not, at what point does he enter upon his full rights? Where, as among the Bachama, the residence is changed when the wife becomes pregnant, the inference need not be that this custom is a survival of a more pronounced form of matrilineal marriage; it may equally well be interpreted as an indication that the husband formally accepts the wife, for wives may be repudiated in cases of sterility.

The Mumbake custom of making the accepted suitor reside in the compound of his bride's parents may be connected with the bride-price, and the same may be the case when the Mbula husband lives for a year in his wife's parents' house.

More definitely matrilineal is the Warji usage which ordains that the virgin bride remains with her husband only four days and then returns to her father, with whom

she remains until the birth of a child (of which her husband may or may not be the father). The same may be said of the Kilba custom, by which the wife remains with her husband until the child is born, but goes to her own home until it has attained the age of three.

There are a considerable number of customs indicating that authority is vested either wholly or in part in the mother's family, and the interpretation of these customs is less ambiguous than of those so far noticed. Among the Longuda, when a man dies, his wife and children go back to her family; this is clearly a case in which the father exercises authority while he lives, though he is not the owner of his children. In other cases the children pass out of the father's hands before his death.

Among the Yergum the mother's brother appropriates a child as soon as it is weaned, but the father may redeem it; while among the Kaje the first three children are claimed by the mother's family, but may be redeemed by the father on payment of cowries and two goats for each child. Here the usage suggests that these children are regarded as a portion of the bride-price, and the same may be said of the Dakakari and Kanakuru custom of handing over the first-born child to the mother's family as soon as it is weaned. Among the Mumuye the mother's family takes possession of the first female child.

It is said that the first child of a foreign woman who marries into the Mumbake belongs to her tribe. This would merely seem to mean that her family can claim the child, for otherwise the custom would be meaningless.

Among the Gwarin Waike a girl is given in marriage by her brother, and he claims her first child as his own. Among the Tangale a man must be present when his mother's brother's daughter is given in marriage and when

a sacrifice is offered for her. He must also attend when the bride-price is paid, and according to Mr. Hall (of the Sudan Interior Mission at Kaltungo) his office is likened to that of a surgeon's lance ; his function is to protect the girl's family from evil. He may visit her home when he pleases, and is free to take possession of any property.

The bearing of the bride-price on the interpretation of these customs is seen in more than one instance. Among the Afo and Ayu, exchange of sisters (in the classificatory sense) is the rule. If no woman is available the prospective bridegroom can obtain a wife on condition that the children belong to his wife's family. Here the ownership of the woman passes only if the exchange is an equal one ; mere money will not purchase a woman.

Among the Munshi there is, as we have seen, more than one form of marriage, and the ownership of the children depends on which form is followed.¹ Further, if a Munshi girl is given to a man against her will, her first child belongs to her family. So also among the Tangale, if a girl bears a child, or even becomes pregnant, before payment of the bride-price has been completed, the child goes to the girl's family. It may even, it is said, be sold as a slave by the maternal uncle ; but the precise significance of this would depend on the general customs of the Tangale as regards slavery.

In the type of marriage found among the Butawa and known as *auren shan gari*, not only do the children belong to the mother's family, but the economic services of the wife are also retained.²

When we turn to the question of actual authority, as distinguished from custody, we have rather meagre data.

¹ See pp. 201, 205, 217.

² See p. 204.

Among the Vere a boy who is about to be circumcised is beaten by his mother's brother, who then presents him with a goat ; the father does the same and adds a pot of beer. Among the Sura the correction of children lies in the hands of the male relatives of the mother ; a boy who kills game must give the rump to his maternal uncle. Among the Berom the maternal uncle (*nagwoshi*) corrects a disobedient boy, and among the Gwari he has the right of selling his nephew into slavery. Among the Waja he receives the head and neck of any animal slain by his nephew.

As might be expected where the children pass at the father's death to his mother's brother, the latter is also the heir to the property ; but the custom is in some respects a curious one, because the descent of the children is clearly reckoned in the male and not the female line. This custom exists among the Vere. The brother who is the heir is the one next below a man's mother ; he arranges the marriages of all the children. It is, of course, possible to interpret the case as purely matrilineal on the hypothesis that cross-cousin marriage is or was the rule ; but of this there is no evidence. Among the Longuda and Chum a man's property passes at his death to his mother's family.

As to customs of succession I have very little information, in so far as " mother-right " is concerned. It is said that among the Gade a man cannot succeed to the chiefship in his father's town, but is eligible in his mother's town or in the town of her mother's father. If this information is correct, it appears that a woman can hand on the rights of a man, but the man cannot pass them on directly.

The Family

The peoples of the Northern Provinces can be classified politically and economically into three fairly well-marked groups: (*a*) those whose organization is still in the stage of local unconsolidated groups; (*b*) those whose groups have been consolidated under a central tribal government; and (*c*) those who have reached a quasi-national stage, a number of local tribes having lost their independence and become united to form kingdoms and empires. In each of these there is considerable divergence in the social conditions. At the earliest stage society is uniformly democratic, but at the national stage class-distinctions are well developed, and society is divided into royalty, nobility, commoners, and slaves. At every stage, however, the basis of society is the same, and is the family—not, however, the primary unit which we call the family, not the biological group consisting of a man, his wife, and children, but the larger group of persons united under the control, real or nominal, of the oldest man of the oldest generation. This group is known as the extended family, and is to be distinguished from the patriarchal family, which is under the control of the oldest male lineal ascendant. Membership of the extended family is thus determined by consanguinity and not by affinity. The group normally includes the head of the family, his brothers and cousins, his and their children and grandchildren. It may also include adopted children, slaves, and their offspring. Unlike the restricted or biological family, it does not include wives; for although wives enter the restricted family of their husband, they do not enter the extended family of which he is a member.

The members of a restricted family always occupy a single compound, but the members of an extended family

may occupy a number of compounds in close proximity, forming a township in rural, and wards or sections of wards in urban areas. When a son marries (and so becomes the founder of a biological family) he may be assigned some huts in his father's compound, or he may build a fresh compound for himself in the neighbourhood. But he still remains under the supreme direction and authority of the family head. Moreover, any children born are regarded as belonging to the extended, rather than the biological, group, and it is for this reason that the West African native gives the title of "brother" not merely to the sons of his father and mother, but to all the members of his family group who are of the same generation as himself.

The head of the family is an autocrat within his own domain. He controls the group politics, and is responsible for the conduct of its members *vis à vis* the community. He protects all the members of the group, and, among the primitive tribes, he sees that revenge is taken, or that compensation is received for any injuries done by members of another family. *Per contra* he makes atonement to other families for offences committed by his own, paying fines from the common family stock.

In the economic sphere he controls, in varying degrees, the activities of the family group, which are primarily directed towards the maintenance of the family as a whole, though plenty of scope is given for individual effort and enterprise. Thus, if the family is agricultural, each member will usually contribute his quota of work on the central farm, but he may at the same time engage in cultivation on his own account. If it is pastoral, junior members may take away part of the cattle to grazing-grounds at several days' distance from the main herd, but

they remain in constant communication with the other members of the family. If the family supports itself by trade, individual members may leave the family for long periods, and on their return share, to a great extent, the proceeds of their success. This family solidarity is of the greatest economic importance in its tendency to restrict the members of the family to one particular occupation. Sons of blacksmiths will often become blacksmiths ; sons of dyers, dyers ; of butchers, butchers ; and so on. The family is not, however, always a self-sufficing economic unit. In agricultural operations, for example, one family is commonly assisted at certain times of the year by several other families, this united system of labour being known in Hausa as *gaya*.

Several families may also join to carry on industrial operations on co-operative lines, and, among the nomad pastoralists, the camp which forms the economic unit may consist not of a single family, but of several related or even unrelated families, all banded together under a single headman.

We may say, finally, of the head of the family that, although he does not make himself directly responsible for the daily sustenance of the family group, nevertheless he assumes a general responsibility which requires him to come to the assistance of invalid and destitute members of the family. He will assist his poorer junior male relatives to provide the marriage price. In short, he accepts a general responsibility in all matters affecting the family solidarity.

It will be seen then that in the institution of the extended family, the family ties are very strong, and that the restricted or biological group is to a great extent dependent on and subservient to the extended group.

Children, for example, are regarded not so much as belonging to the biological parents as to the whole family group. Indeed, it is a common practice for a father to hand over the custody of his children at an early age to an elder brother, who becomes the putative father, making himself responsible for the upbringing of the children, and even for arranging for their marriage, the biological father having no say in this matter at all. This is the common rule, for example, among the Kakanda, Igbira, Basa, and Igara; and these tribes also observe, according to the statement of an Igara informant, the custom of placing the senior brother's grandchildren under the tutelage of the junior brother of all, and the latter's grandchildren under the care of the brother immediately senior to himself, and so on. Again, among these tribes a junior brother's widow is inherited by the son of the next senior brother, and an elder brother's widow by the next junior brother.

All these rules knit the extended family together in a way which is foreign to our ideas of family relationship. There are, however, certain features which tend to weaken this family solidarity, and among these the following may be noted. Firstly, one of the consequences of polygyny is that children by the same father and different mothers have a rooted dislike of each other. Each group, with a view to securing a position of predominance and the major part of the family inheritance, endeavours to disparage and dislodge the others. The very term "sons of the same father" (*Yan uba*) carries with it among all the tribes a connotation of jealousy and ill-will. It is still commonly said that many parents, notably those occupying positions of chieftainship, prefer having daughters to sons, because of the competition among sons to secure

the succession, and of the unfilial plottings by which sons will even attempt to have their fathers deposed or killed in order that they may be installed in their fathers' position.

The family solidarity is also considerably weakened by the loose marriage laws, *e.g.* such as the *zaga* custom of wife-stealing, which prevails among many of the tribes.¹ This is a matter, however, which affects the restricted rather than the extended family.

Again, among certain tribes matriarchal survivals tend to weaken the family bond. We have already given instances of the great authority exercised in some cases by maternal uncles over nephews, and we have seen that a fiancé has often to take up his residence for long periods before, and sometimes even after, marriage, with his prospective parents-in-law ; and among some tribes, such as the Kurama, the father of a married woman can override the authority of his son-in-law. Children are also commonly claimed at birth by the wife's family, or pass to her family on the husband's death. These customs are, however, dying out, as is evidenced by the common practice which now allows a father to redeem his children by money payments.

Lastly, there can be little doubt that the unity of the extended family is being daily affected by modern economic conditions. The freedom with which trading operations may now be engaged in, at long distances from home, and the safety with which farming may be pursued far from the parent village, has led to the growth of individualism, and the development of the biological family idea at the expense of that of the extended group.

¹ See p. 197.

*Domestic Regulations and the Sexual
Division of Labour*

A husband is responsible for providing each of his wives with food, clothing, and separate quarters in his compound. If he has more than one wife he must not show any discrimination in the matter of cohabitation. The Fulani and Munshi husband spends one night with each wife in succession, the Hausa; Dakakari, and Mumuye two nights in succession, and so on. The first wife, however, is the principal wife, and exercises considerable authority over the others. As a rule, she has control of all the stores. Among some tribes, the Mumbake for example, a husband can only make presents to his various wives through his first wife.

Wives in their turn are responsible for the domestic duties of cooking, the provision of wood and water (this is generally done by daughters), and the care of children. Each wife cooks for her husband, and if a man has more than one wife the one with whom he sleeps is the one who cooks for him that day. Occasionally, as among the Berom, the cooking is left to a junior wife. Among the Angas a man's wives all cook every day and bring the food to the husband, who takes a little off the top of each dish and hands over the rest to the other members of his household. If he refrains from touching the food of some particular wife, she would regard it as an intentional insult, and would forthwith return to her mother's home. Among some tribes, however (*e.g.* the Lala), cooking is commonly done by the men, and among the Jukun the food of the chiefs and highest officials is always prepared by men.

Women are not allowed to cook during their menses, and among the Jukun no woman in this condition is allowed inside the compound—she has to occupy the entrance-porch. This is a Hindu custom. Parents whose sons have been married for more than a year receive their meals each day from them, the cooking being done by the daughter-in-law.

The head of a family takes his food alone or in the company of his grandchildren. The other male members of the family, slaves included, eat together, while the female and young children observe a similar rule. This is the general rule among the Muslim peoples, but the pagan tribes are somewhat less punctilious, for seniors among them commonly eat with juniors, and men with women (provided there are no strangers or grown-up children present). A Jarawa father-in-law will drink out of the same bowl as his son-in-law. Mumuye husbands regularly take their food in the company of their wives, and among the Munshi it is not uncommon for old men, young men, children, and women to be seen eating a meal together.

Among the pagan Jukun, however, the sex tabu as regards food is carried to an extent unknown even in Muslim society. On no account must a Jukun wife see her husband eating food, and to ensure this privacy the Jukun men fence off a portion of the compound. In this seclusion the grown-up Jukun take their meals, which are brought to them by young male members of the compound. Jukun men may, however, see their wives eating without any ill effects. The Ankwe observe similar tabus, derived, no doubt, from their Jukun conquerors.

Sex exclusiveness is, indeed, a characteristic feature of African society, and shows itself in many other ways

besides that of sex separation at meals. In public men associate with men, and women with women, and one of the main lessons which boys are taught at initiation is the propriety of eschewing the society of the opposite sex. To such an extent is sex exclusiveness sometimes carried that (among the Basa Komo) the sexes live in different parts of the town, and small boys are sent to live with their fathers at the age of three or four.

With regard to the sexual division of labour, women among some of the more primitive tribes, such as the Munshi and Dadiya, perform the major part of the field-work, the men devoting themselves to hunting, fishing, or industrial pursuits. Usually, however, the women take only a minor part in farming operations, assisting the men on the main farms for an hour or two of the day, and cultivating small farms near the house on their own account. Among the higher agriculturalists the tendency is for farm-work to be undertaken principally by the men, the women confining themselves to the preparation of raw materials. Yoruba women, for example, do not work in the fields ; and among the Muslim peoples generally only slave-women formerly engaged in farming operations. Even among some tribes of the lowest culture (*e.g.* the Paiemawa) women take no part in farming, their economic activities being confined to their household duties and the brewing of beer. Among the nomad pastorals the men are the herdsmen, and the women prepare the milk and butter and sell them in the markets. Both the men and women milk the cows, but it is said that formerly, among the more primitive Fulani, the milking was done exclusively by women. Fulani women also are given the duty of constructing the beehive shelter-huts. The husband looks on while this is done, and it is said that he spends the

first night in the new camp with the wife who is most expeditious in completing her task.

Boys are early taught to use the hoe, and even as small children they are of economic value, for they are used to fetch wood, to look after the sheep and goats, and to drive away from the crops birds and other destructive pests.

Avoidance Customs and Terms of Relationship

Sufficient has been said to show how profoundly the northern Nigerian family differs from our own. This difference is still more apparent in the avoidance customs which regulate social intercourse, and in the terms used to designate the various relationships. Reference has already been made to the tabu placed on social intercourse between parents-in-law and children-in-law, and between a betrothed couple, and also on the use of personal names between husband and wife. A few further remarks may be made on these avoidance customs. Children call their father *Baba*, or by some title signifying "Head of the House," and they address their mother as *Iya*, but the use of personal names is avoided. Munshi children, however, commonly address their fathers by their personal names, but not their mothers, for whom they entertain a respect so profound that they would always protect their mothers from ill-treatment by their fathers. Parents-in-law may use the personal names of their children-in-law, but children-in-law may not address parents-in-law by their personal names. A similar prohibition exists as regards senior brothers-in-law, but it does not apply to junior brothers-in-law, with whom the greatest social familiarity is permitted.

Again, an elder brother may not address his younger brother's wife by her personal name, nor may there be

any familiarity between them ; but a younger brother may address his elder brother's wife by her name, or he may even call her " wife " (where the junior levirate is the rule). A man avoids using the name of his wife's elder sister, but addresses her simply as " wife," even where sororate customs do not exist.

Lastly, among many of the tribes, notably the Fulani, parents display an excessive modesty with regard to their first-born child, who is always addressed and referred to impersonally.¹ He is commonly treated with neglect and disrespect. There is, however, an interesting exception to this rule. A first-born son who happens to bear a striking resemblance to his deceased grandfather would be given his grandfather's name and treated with the utmost respect by his parents. He will even, by his own father, be called *Baba* or " Father." This respect is clearly due to the belief in reincarnation. The child embodies the spirit of his grandfather, and the child's father, therefore, treats him with the same deference that he had shown his own father during his lifetime.

Hausa and Fulani commonly avoid using the name of their younger brother's first-born son, and they even refer to, or address, impersonally, the first-born son of a close friend. This tabu does not seem to rest at the present day on anything but a conventional prudery.

How are we to interpret these avoidance customs as they appear in Nigeria ? It has been suggested by Sir James Frazer that such customs originated as tabus on sexual relations, that they then became a mode of expressing respect generally, and so in process of time their use was extended to all those who were entitled to respect,

¹ This may be a relic of a former custom (as among some Semitic peoples) of killing the first-born, or it may reflect the natural jealousy which a man entertains towards his first child.

i.e. to all seniors. Social tabus and sexual restrictions would certainly seem to be inter-connected in some cases. Among the Jarawa, for example, the parent-in-law tabu only seems to apply as between persons of different sex, for although the son-in-law avoids the mother-in-law, he consorts on terms of equality with his father-in-law.

Again, among the Igbara, Igara, Kakanda, Nupe, etc., wives commonly address their husbands by the term *Yaya*, the same title as is given to an elder brother—a senior title which betrays the consciousness that they may one day become the wives of their husband's younger brother.

Further, although a younger brother treats his elder brother (and all his elder brother's friends) with studied respect, he can joke and quarrel with his elder brother's wife. But the elder brother cannot adopt this familiar attitude towards his younger brother's wife. The explanation of this is again that an elder brother's wife is a younger brother's potential mate, whereas custom forbids an elder brother to marry a younger brother's widow.

On the same principle one should expect that among tribes where sons inherit their father's wives (*e.g.* among the Yoruba, Owe, Bunu, and Munshi) the sons would be on terms of easy social intercourse with their father's wives (their own mothers, of course, excepted). But I was unable to find that this was the case. Sons may call the younger wives of their father by their personal names, but they cannot be on terms of familiarity with them. It would therefore appear that seniority ideas frequently outweigh the sexual; it is thus possible to maintain a different view to that of Sir James Frazer, and to say that avoidance customs are primarily based on ideas of genealogical seniority, and that these ideas generally, but not

always, give way as regards persons who stand in the relation of potential mates. The distant respect shown to the elder brothers and sisters of one's wife, and the absence of such respect in the case of the junior brothers and sisters, is a little puzzling to the Western mind, for there may be little difference in point of age between the two groups. But according to Negro ideas this difference is reckoned as a whole generation, and senior brothers and sisters-in-law have the same seniority as the parents-in-law themselves. Indeed, among many of the tribes (*e.g.* the Hausa) the word for elder-brother-in-law is the same as that used for a father-in-law (*surki*).

We may conclude this section by a few further remarks on relationship terms. Classificatory titles are common, as we should expect in a state of society where the social unit is larger than the simple or biological family. The same titles (*e.g.* father, sister, etc.) are applied to corresponding relatives on the father's and mother's side. Elder and younger brothers and sisters are, however, generally distinguished by special titles indicating "big" and "little." But it sometimes happens (as *e.g.* among the Gwari) that this differentiation is not observed as between brother and sister, presumably because a difference in age is important between brother and brother, but not between brother and sister. There is usually a special term to denote "in-law." Thus, among the Hausa *surki* means either father-in-law or brother-in-law, and among the Gwari and Koro the terms *yeji* and *olomi* have a similar significance. Reciprocal terms are not uncommon. A Gwari, for example, calls his sister by the same term (*mapwi*) which she applies to him. His wife's parents use towards him the same title as he applies to them (but a Gwari woman applies a different title to her

husband's relatives from that employed by them to her). The Yungur have reciprocal titles for uncle and nephew, and for father-in-law and daughter-in-law ; the Jarawa for sister-in-law and brother-in-law, and so on.

Descriptive titles are used where it is necessary to distinguish a relative clearly, or where no special term exists. A man, for instance, who wished to make clear to whom he was referring when he used the word " father " might add the words " younger brother of his mother," etc. The Hausa describe a cousin as " the son of the brother of his father," etc.

In addition to classificatory and descriptive titles there are in most tribes special terms for certain relatives. Among the Fulani, for example, an elder brother is addressed as *yaya*, an elder sister as *ada*, a father's brother as *bopa*, a mother's brother as *kawo*, a father's sister as *gogo*, and a mother's sister as *yapendo*. The Gwari word for mother's brother is *yako*, for father's brother *dako*, for husband's brother *gunuko*, for wife's father *yeji*, and so on. The restricted use of special terms for certain important relatives is not inconsistent with the classificatory system, but an extensive use of special terms would seem to indicate a departure from the classificatory system and to denote a stage of transition.

It is important to note the manner in which a term applicable to one relative may be extended to another, for either of the following reasons : (a) because you know the second person through or by reason of the first ; or (b) because the second person will one day occupy the same social position as the first. Thus a Gwari calls his wife's elder sister *yeji*, and he extends the term to the husband of his wife's elder sister. He calls his paternal or maternal grandmother his " wife," because he will one



Fig. 69. A Hausa village headman

day inherit his grandfather's widow ; he calls his mother's brother's wife his " wife," because he may one day marry his mother's brother's widows. We should expect him for the same reason to call his mother's brother's eldest son his " son," but in point of fact he calls this relative his " uncle," because, on his mother's brother's death, the mother's brother's eldest son becomes head of the mother's family and dispenses the religious rites. A Koro, on the other hand, calls his mother's brother's son his " son," for among the Koro as among the Gwari a man inherits his mother's brother's widows. He would call the father's sister's son not " son " but " brother."

Thus we see that the study of relationship terms provides a key to the social organization of the tribe, and that through the relationship terminology the past history of that organization can be traced. For where we find, as we do, that a Muslim Hausa calls his grandmother his " wife " we may be certain that one time the Hausa, like the Gwari of to-day, practised grandmother marriages.

The Village

A single extended family may occupy an entire village, and in this case the family and village organization are identical. More usually, however, the village consists of a number of extended families living in compounds clustered within a narrow area, or scattered about in groups which are often at considerable distances from one another. The families may be closely related by kinship ties, or they may be unrelated groups possessing only a common cult and a common dialect. In the kingdoms and empires where the tribe has been penetrated by foreigners, the village community commonly consists of families of totally

different ethnic stock. In such cases the family organization has given way to that of village communities, in which the ties of consanguinity have lost much of their binding force. But various families become welded together by ramifying marriages. Where the villages form local exogamous groups (as *e.g.* among the Gana-Gana and Gupa) there is a consciousness of relationship among the families, and the same may be said of such exogamous wards as we find among the Pongo Baushi and other tribes.

We have said that it is not uncommon to find villages composed of families of totally different stock. This is generally the result of conquest and the disintegrating effects of war. Thus in Bornu, while the villages of the western half of the Kanembu district form units which are ethnically homogeneous, those in the eastern half contain a congeries of distinct peoples, and the cause of this was the disintegrating effect of Rabeh's occupation of the country. Migrations for economic reasons have also had an important effect in breaking down the original ethnical unity of the village group. There are, for example, practically no towns of any importance in the Northern Provinces where Hausa traders have not formed settlements. It is in this way that Muslim culture and religion have been spread through the length and breadth of the land.

With regard to the political constitution of the village, this will be dealt with in the following chapter.

The Clan

Our next social group is the clan,¹ an institution which only appears among the more primitive tribes. The clan would seem to be a further stage beyond the extended family. It is a group of families bound together by a sense

¹ See the definition given at p. xv.

of relationship, which is generally explained as due to the possession of a common ancestor. But beyond this it is difficult to be more precise, and a good deal of confusion has been introduced in government reports by the loose application of the word "clan" to what are in reality single extended families on the one hand and sub-tribes on the other.

The subject of the clan in Nigeria has never really been closely studied, and I do not, therefore, propose to enter here on a discussion as to its origin or composition. A few general remarks, however, may be made. We have noted in our review of totemism that certain sections of some tribes call themselves by some totemic title. But I know of only a single case where the animal by whose name the clan is called is tabu to the whole clan. Moreover, clan organization on the basis of totemic exogamous divisions does not seem to exist at all,¹ though at one time such an organization may have been present. Further, one finds that different sections of clans may have many different tabus.

The clan would appear to be the product of a single biological family, the various resultant extended families recognizing a common ancestor by whose name the members of the clan are called. The customs of the clan are uniform, but the clan is usually devoid of any political organization.

Tribal and Larger Social Groupings

The tribe is at once an ethnical and a social group, for not only does it comprise people of the same language, physical appearance, and customs, but it is composed of

¹ But see footnote p. 186.

families and clans of common origin. It usually forms also a political grouping ; but there are numerous exceptions to this rule, and we commonly find in Nigeria that force of circumstances has caused tribes to be politically split up. This separation has in its turn brought about marked ethnic and social differences within the tribe. The Zaria Gwari, for example, have, through long association with the Zaria Hausa state, and free intermarriage with the Hausa, become markedly differentiated from the original Gwari stock. The Koro Zeni and the Koro Ala can for the same reason be easily distinguished from the Koro Agweshi and the Koro Achi, the former being much influenced by Hausa culture, and to some extent by admixture.

Outposts of one tribe may live with and follow a neighbouring tribe. Idoma shade off into Agatu, on the one hand, and Igara on the other, and there are signs of amalgamation between Idoma and Munshi. Munshi have intermarried with Jukun. In Bornu there are communities even of Shuwa-Fulani, *i.e.* of Semite, Hamite, and Negro intermixed. The Sura are a composite tribe barely one hundred years old. The tribe consists of elements of Angas, Burum, and Ankwe, who were forced to combine in order to resist common invaders. Thus the ethnical, cultural, and social composition of tribes is constantly undergoing modification, and the causes that work for this end have received enormous stimulation from the sudden safety and development of the country, resulting from the British occupation.

A final word remains to be said about the social conditions in the larger political groupings such as the kingdoms and sultanates. In these we find a set of social phenomena very different to the uniform democracy of the primitive

tribes. Society is divided into governing and governed, and is characterized by the institution of slavery. At the head of affairs is the king, governor, or sultan, and with him are associated the aristocratic governing families, and frequently also favourite slaves. Next come the middle classes, who farm on their own account, and the more important of whom were, in former days, slave-owners and held local offices. Then come the *talakawa* or proletariat, whose position was, in former times, little better than that of serfs. Finally, at the bottom were the slaves—people captured in war, or bought in the open market.

Such was the social organization of the ancient Hausa states, of the empire of Bornu and of the Fulani sultanate at the time of the British occupation. In this class also must be included those loosely consolidated pagan empires, such as that of the Jukun, who by means of a hereditary governing caste, headed by a king and council, controlled the fortunes of a number of tributary tribes. On this there will be more to say in the following chapter, which deals with Government and Law.

VI

GOVERNMENT AND LAW

A. POLITICAL GROUPINGS : (1) *The Unconsolidated Group*—(2) *The Consolidated Group*—(3) *Class Governments*.

B. LAW : (1) *Officers of the Law*—(2) *Legal Procedure* : (a) *Private and Public Justice* ; (b) *The Law of Evidence* ; (c) *Trial by Ordeal*—(3) *Substantive Law* : (a) *Criminal Law* ; (b) *The Law of Property and Persons*—(i) *Land Tenure* ; (ii) *Inheritance* ; (iii) *Slavery*.

C. SYSTEMS OF TAXATION.

D. WARFARE AND WEAPONS.

A. Political Groupings

AT the time of the British assumption of the administration the peoples of the Northern Provinces were at various stages of political development, ranging from unconsolidated village groups to the highly organized sultanates of Sokoto and Bornu. But before proceeding to classify these political groupings a few remarks have still to be made on the subject of the family and village headman in his political (as opposed to his social) capacity.

The head of the extended family occupies a very definite administrative position *vis-à-vis* the village community. He is responsible to it for the public behaviour of the members of his household, and where—as commonly happens, notably among the nomad Fulani---the family constitutes a single political entity, the head of the family is also chief of the community. He is the supreme political and judicial authority. The family, represented by its headman (*i.e.* the oldest male member of the oldest generation), is thus the basis of administrative organization, and

in the government of the village the heads of the various families play an important rôle in the discussion of all political affairs. No village chief can afford to disregard the opinions of the heads of the family. Among some of the more primitive tribes a single family may occupy an entire village, and in such a case the head of the family is also the head of the village, and is the sole intermediary between the members of the village and the head of the group or tribe.

Originally, no doubt, each family constituted a single political unit, and it was only in process of time that pressure of circumstances, such as the necessity for common defence, forced a number of families to unite in forming the larger villager communities. Where such union took place a single family might constitute a separate ward of the village, and thus it is that we commonly find different wards observing different food tabus and exogamous rules.

On the other hand, a single large family may break away from a village and found an independent exogamous community. The head of the village would normally be the head of the family which first occupied the village site. His historic right to the disposal of the land would be recognized, and more important even than that would be the religious consideration that it was he who had first entered into an alliance with the *genii* of the place. If in time the hereditary chief displayed administrative weakness he would be ousted from his office as civil head of the community, but he would still retain his position as *sarkin tsafi* or religious head, for he alone could secure to the community the favour of the ancestral spirits. Thus it is that in some villages the civil chief is also the religious chief, while in others the two offices are distinct. Among

the Afawa, for example, the rainmakers are invariably members of the oldest family.

Another cause of the divorce between civil and religious chiefs is that pagan tribes on being conquered did not wish their *sarkin tsafi* to have direct dealings with their conquerors, and they accordingly put up intermediaries, who in time become regarded as civil heads. Further, where we find that the chieftainship is confined to members of two or three families (as is frequently the case), it is reasonable to conclude that originally these families simultaneously occupied the village site and agreed that the headship should go to each in turn. In many villages, however, the appointment of the chief is by election, and this is also no doubt to be referred to a time when several families founded a town together, and agreed to appoint as chief the most capable or most powerful member of the society.

One commonly meets with villages where the inhabitants are of different ethnic stocks, which have come in by peaceful means. In such cases each stock has its own recognized leader, but the paramount chief of the village is usually the leader of the oldest inhabitants. The people of Dawaikin Basa, for example, are a mixed community of Hausa and Kamuku. Each tribe has its recognized headman, but the chief of the village is always the headman of the Kamuku, who were the aboriginal inhabitants. On the other hand, where the tribe has been conquered by some foreign power the ancient rules of succession have often been broken down, the chief being any member of the village recognized as capable of wielding the paramount power, or possibly even a man who is a complete stranger to the tribe. This breach of tribal custom was especially common under the Fulani empire, where the



Fig. 70. A village headman—Kanam District
—Bauchi Province

office of local chief was commonly sold to the highest bidder. One of the evil consequences of this practice was the constant changing of chiefs, auctions being frequent in order that the state coffers might be kept replenished. The power of the village chief was also further curtailed by the presence of emissaries of the paramount government, whose functions were to collect the taxes and act as village spies.

With regard to the duties of the village chief these vary with the power and ability of the individual. A man of forceful character, especially if backed by a foreign power, might be a tyrant indeed, but normally he was little more than the representative of the village community, and could not take any important administrative or executive action without the authority of the old men of the village—the *sarkin tsafi*, the heads of the wards and of the principal families. He had the disposal of all unoccupied land, and if he was also head of the worship he announced the dates of festivals and saw that sacrifice was offered when necessary. As an old man himself, he, with his council of elders, was always on the side of conserving the tribal custom and of restraining the younger men from impetuous acts. This conservatism is often a hindrance in these days of progress, but nevertheless the village head and his elders must be regarded as the cornerstone of administration. The Yoruba have a proverb which says, "Where there are no elders the town is ruined ; when the master dies the house is desolate."

(1) *The Unconsolidated Group*

We may now pass on to consider the village thus constituted in its relation to other political units. In the empires, kingdoms, and consolidated tribal groups the

village was an administrative unit of the district. But where the tribe is unconsolidated the village group forms an independent unit, the tribe as a whole having no recognized organ of government. This is the unconsolidated group-system of government, and it still exists in many parts of Nigeria. The village group is for all practical purposes autonomous. It has its own well-defined territory. It was not responsible to any higher authority for its domestic or foreign policy, and could, and often did, wage war on its nearest neighbour.

The Nungu and Warji may be cited as examples of peoples at this stage. There was no central authority, though it might happen that the heads of the various villages would meet for informal conferences under the presidency of the chief of the most ancient town, and in face of a common enemy be forced into a closer temporary union. But for all ordinary purposes the village group was politically independent, all disputes being settled by the local headmen and elders, and all transgressions of tribal custom being punished by them.

The Fulani and Shuwa pastoral nomads may be included among the peoples at this political stage; for, though their history shows that the nomad groups are capable on occasion of speedy concerted action, nevertheless their migratory habits prevent anything like regular political cohesion, and the Fulani encampment, or *ruga* as it is called, consists usually of a few families, not always related, who submit themselves to the authority of the patriarch of the richest or oldest family. Where these families are numerous, and all belong to the same section of a tribe, we have passed on to a further stage, and this brings us to our next political unit—that of the consolidated group.

(2) *The Consolidated Group*

Groups recognizing the authority of a central chief may be : (a) a group of villages coterminous with the sub-tribe ; (b) an entire tribe. In such cases the political grouping corresponds with the ethnical, and the unifying influence is the sense of kinship, or the possession of a common religious cult with a central shrine. On the other hand, the consolidated group may be a sub-tribe embracing sections of different local groups, or even different tribes, and the unifying influence in such cases was, generally speaking, the necessity for organizing warfare. A few instances will illustrate the mode of government in these consolidated groups.

The Munshi sub-tribes commonly (but not always) recognize the head of the sub-tribe as the central authority. He is usually assisted by a vizier of his own age or group, and he is supported by a committee of elders, who constitute a kind of witenagemot, discussing certain matters of public importance and exercising judicial functions. The authority of the chief is not, however, very great ; and as the Munshi, as a whole, have no central organ of government, their political condition may be considered as being still at a primary stage.

The Warjawa are similarly constituted. They have seven sectional headmen, but no supreme administrative authority. For purposes of war, however, the tribe would gather round a supreme war-chief. The Makangara are a sub-tribe of the Kamuku. They are of mixed origin, and, unlike the rest of the tribe, are politically independent. Each group has a recognized head, and the headmen meet occasionally under the presidency of one of the group chiefs to discuss matters of general policy. Such

a government is analogous to that of the village, but is administratively, politically, and judicially less defined.

The same may be said of many of the large pagan tribes who form political units. The chief of the tribe is little more than president of the heads of the local group. Occasionally, as among the Angas, we find that his authority is derived principally from his outstanding position as chief of the tribal cult. He has few prerogatives beyond the right to the heads and skins of certain animals and a certain proportion of all slaves captured in war. He is president of a federal republic, rather than king in his own domain. His duties as head of the village outweigh those which he exercises as chief of the tribe. The Berom and Akoko are instances of tribes at this stage of government.

Among other tribes, however, the paramount chief is endowed with autocratic powers which remove him from the category of mere presidents of confederacies. The tribe is ruled by a king, but has not yet reached the stage of an organized kingdom.

The Bede, Bachama, and Idoma are instances of government at this stage, and the kingship has been evolved usually as a result of war conditions, and the appearance of some masterful personality who, after the disappearance of the conditions that had brought him to the front, was able to retain his predominant position. The paramount chief of the Bede, for example, attained his rank when the Bede local groups united to defend themselves from Fulani and Bornu aggression. He secured his position permanently, it is said, by removing all the important men of the local groups, and by breaking up village areas into their lowest denominator. Among the Idoma the chief could proclaim his orders throughout the entire tribe, and



Fig. 71. A Berom village headman—Bauchi Province



Fig. 72. The Emir of Zaria's vizier—Zaria Province

was in a position to impose penalties for disobedience. In this type of government, though justice was dealt with locally, the court of the king was a court of appeal. The position of the Shuwa sheikhs was somewhat analogous to that of these petty kings.

(3) *Class Governments*

Class governments are represented by the kingdoms and empires, society being divided into royalty, nobility, commoners, and slaves. In the petty kingdoms just described, this type of government is in process of being evolved, but has not yet attained its full development. The local divisions had not yet completely lost their independence. In the organized kingdoms and empires, however, the government is centralized, and the local divisions, which may consist of a single tribe or sections of a tribe or sections of various tribes, are ruled by district heads. The kingdom may be a limited monarchy, the king being dependent to a great extent on the goodwill and co-operation of his council or district chiefs; or it may be an absolute monarchy, the government being wholly centred at the capital, and the district chiefs being liable to summary dismissal at the sovereign's will. The extent to which the king was absolute depended a great deal on his personal character. Generally speaking, no Sudanese monarch could ever afford in important matters to act independently of the council of senior chiefs. In all cases the kingship is normally hereditary, the office being confined to one or two families. The king may designate his successor, generally his son; but frequently the successor is elected by the council of chiefs from the members of the royal family. All land was theoretically at the disposal of the king, and theoretically also

every subject had the right of appeal to his sovereign from the decisions of village and district chiefs.

A characteristic of most kingdoms was the presence at the capital of territorial representatives known as *kofofi* or "doors," corresponding somewhat to the Roman *patroni*, who investigated local disputes, and either disposed of them or referred them to the king and council. This system of "doors," it may be noted, is not an exclusively Sudanese institution, for it has been described by M. Junod as existing among the Bantu Thonga of South Africa.¹ In addition to the council the king had the assistance of various ministers, who were treasurers, war leaders, or comptrollers of the royal household. These men were generally freed slaves of proved ability, and bound to the king by ties of personal loyalty. Finally, there were systems of taxation and military service, for the organization of which the district chiefs or feudal lords were responsible to their sovereigns.

We may now give a few examples of the monarchical system of government as described above. Among the Yoruba the power of the sovereign was very much curtailed by the council of chiefs, without whose authority no new law could be promulgated. The actions of the king were so closely scrutinized that he could not even receive the emissary of a foreign power unless a member of the council was present. Any serious departure from tribal custom might result in the enforced suicide of the sovereign. With the council also lay the appointment of the new ruler, who was selected from members of the royal family. The *Bashorun*, or vizier, was the monarch's chief adviser, and the military organization was under the charge of the *Balogun*. The district chiefs were feudal

¹ M. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 330.

lords in their own domain, each fief-holder having complete right over his land, dividing it up amongst his adherents or the members of his family. The larger fiefs were often subdivided into sub-fiefs, the fief-holders making grants on their own initiative.

After the Fulani conquest of Ilorin many of the Yoruba chiefs continued to hold their position as fief-holders, but many of the fiefs were given by the Emir to his Hausa or Fulani followers, or to members of his own family. At the present time these fief-holders are district heads or members of the Emir's council.

In Bornu, during the reign of the Mais or Sultans of Birnin Gasrgomo, the government was of the same feudal type. There were four wardens responsible for the military safety of the empire—the *Kaigama*, or commander-in-chief; the *Yerima*, or governor of Yeri; the *Galadima*, or governor of Galadi; and the *Mestrema*, who in early times was the chief eunuch of the harem.

The country was also divided into fiefs controlled by the *Chimas*, whose powers, within their own district, were almost unlimited, though they were held responsible by the Sultan for the good government of the fiefs. They levied taxes on their own account, appointed village heads, and administered the law through local Muslim teachers. There was an appeal, however, to the courts at the capital. The fief-holder generally resided at the imperial capital, leaving the details of the administration to a subordinate known as the *Chima Gana* ("small Chima"). In addition to the fief-holder and his immediate subordinates (the *Chima Gana*) there were also in Bornu officials attached to each ethnic unit. These looked after the group or tribal interests, and had considerable authority, as they could collect a tax for their own benefit and claim a share in

any fines imposed by the feudal lord. We need not trace at length the history of the Bornu system of government. It apparently underwent great modifications, and in the time of the Shehu, instead of the "twelve princes of Bornu" mentioned by Makrizi, we find twenty-three *Kogana* or freeborn councillors, thirty-two *Maina* (or princes and princesses), and forty-two *Kachella*, or favourite slaves, who held the important military commands. The Shehu's official mother, the *Magira*, occupied a position of great importance, and had control of one of the largest fiefs. At the date of Nachtigal's visit there was an official called the *Medela*, who made annual tours of inspection through the Shehu's dominions, and reported on the general administration, and on the industrial and agricultural conditions. The army consisted of 7000 men. The Shehu's power was never absolute, for he was largely bound by the decisions of his council, composed of members of the royal family and of the chief officials, which met daily in the presence of the sovereign.

The ancient Hausa and Nupe states were governed on the same feudal lines as Bornu, and we may therefore pass on to make a few remarks on the constitution of the Jukun kingdom of Kororofa, which, as a pagan state, presented many points of contrast with the neighbouring Muslim kingdoms. The most striking feature is the semi-divine character of the Jukun king. His person is charged with a spiritual force which makes it dangerous for any one to be touched by him. If he even touched the ground with his hands or uncovered foot ¹ the crops would be ruined, and it was no doubt due to this blasting power of his *mana* that in former times the chief spoke to his subjects from behind a screen, a custom which Ibn Batuta records

¹ The King of Ashanti may not put his uncovered foot to the ground.

was also followed by the early kings of Bornu.¹ The Jukun king is indeed a demi-god, and with a view to the transmission of his divine spirit unimpaired he was ceremonially slain at the end of seven years.² The Jukun state was thus (in a sense) theocratic, and we might therefore have expected to find that the power of the king was absolute by virtue of his divine character. In point of fact his position was far from being that of an autocrat. In all affairs of state he was bound to accept the advice of his council, composed of members of the royal family, who were also powerful territorial princes and held official titles corresponding to those of the princes of Bornu. This council could summarily end the life of an unconstitutional or unpopular monarch, on the plea that he had broken one of the innumerable royal tabus. The custom of ceremonial king-killing therefore had great political significance, as by it the monarchical government was of a limited rather than an absolute character. On the other hand, as the government was almost entirely in the hands of members of the royal family, bureaucracy was more developed among the Jukun than among any other peoples of Nigeria. Further, the belief in the power of the king to control the rains conferred on the monarch a position of unquestioned authority, and there are many instances recorded in Jukun history of discordant elements in the kingdom being reduced to submission by the mere threat of the sovereign to withhold the rains. The king, moreover, could remove any of the princes from their offices. With regard to the district administration, this was carried on by members of the royal family, who spent a

¹ It was still in vogue at the time of Denham's visit to Bornu.

² The ceremony of slaying the king took place at the Puje harvest festival. Last year the chief refused to hold this festival, through fear possibly that he might have to submit to the ancient rite.

great part of their time in their districts, and were assisted in the government by the aboriginal chiefs, the internal economy of the conquered tribes being retained. It is curiously like the method of government among the South African Thonga described by M. Junod, who says, "According to the custom generally followed, the Mazwaya chief placed his relatives or his sons in the various parts of the lands as petty chiefs, retaining the old Lebombo chiefs as petty counsellors to watch over them and assist them. This is a wise way of proceeding; the old deposed chief becomes responsible for the welfare of the new one." The Jukun also, like the Thonga, had the common African system of "Doors," or territorial intermediaries, at the capital.

Before leaving the Jukun, reference should be made to the important court position held by two women, the *Atsukaku* and the *Ashumotsi*.¹ The former is one of the late chief's sisters (in the classificatory sense). She is queen over the palace women, and it is said of her that "she surpasses the chiefs of former times." I was unable to ascertain the origin and precise meaning of this saying, but it appears that the king is bound to treat her with deference, and that she, like the sovereign himself, is able to control the rains. *Ashumotsi* is the favourite wife of the deceased chief, and is thus the reigning sovereign's official "mother." The king consults her on all important matters, and she enjoys certain privileges, such as the right to offer asylum to any fugitive from justice. If she were not treated with due respect the spirit of her late husband would, it is said, bring trouble on the kingdom.

On the death of the king his successor is designated by the official known as the *Abun Achuwu*, but the two women

¹ See p. 220.

just mentioned virtually controlled the election, for no one could be appointed as a king who had not secured their approval.

We come finally to the Fulani empire, which, with the exception of Bornu and the more remote pagan hill-districts, extended over the length and breadth of the Northern Provinces for the century preceding the British occupation. Founded as a theocracy, it soon developed into a mere tax-collecting sultanate, whose power was based primarily on military supremacy. The empire was divided into two halves—Gando and Sokoto (or Wurno). Each half consisted of a number of provinces, ruled usually, but not always, by a Fulani governor, who was responsible for the good government of his province to the Sultan of Sokoto or Gando, to whom a certain proportion of taxes was forwarded each year. Levies had also to be furnished in time of war. Apart from these requirements of the central governments the provinces were left to manage their own affairs. The power of the governor was qualified by (a) a central council, composed of the chief ministers and territorial officials, and (b) the right of every subject, in theory at least, to appeal to the *Sarkin Musulmi* or Sultan of Sokoto. Unsatisfactory governors could be, and not infrequently were, deposed by the Sultan. In the early days of the Fulani empire it was said that the administration was so efficient that a woman could in safety traverse the whole of the empire with a basket of gold on her head. But these good days must soon have passed, for it is generally true to say that the administration of the governors was of a summary and arbitrary character, the chief end being the replenishment of their dissipated resources. The methods adopted for this end were the wholesale plunder of the populace. Slaves were the

general currency, and under the extensive system of slavery there was an absence of social cohesion, the mass of the subject pagan peoples being reduced to a state of complete economic and moral paralysis.

B. Law

(1) *Officers of the Law*

Among the non-Muslim peoples law forms a part of the general body of tribal customs, the common recognition of which constitutes the legal sanction. The judicial system is not therefore divorced from the executive, and the officers of the law are usually¹ the heads of the political groups. Thus, where the family constitutes an independent unit, the head of the family was the supreme judicial authority; where the village was an independent political group the supreme judicial authority was the village head and elders; and where there was a well-recognised central administration the king or tribal head and council formed the supreme tribunal. Among the nomads the head of the *ruga* or cattle camp adjudicated in all matters of importance. In the Muslim states, however, the case was otherwise. There the administration of the law required not merely a knowledge of local custom, but an intimate knowledge of the Muslim Shari'a, and so it was entrusted (in urban areas at any rate) to a specially qualified class of professional magistrates known as *Alkalai*. The judicial system was thus divorced from the political, and the Emir, in theory at least, only took cognizance of cases which affected his political position. The authority of the Emir, however, was so strong that appeals

¹ Occasionally, as among the Igara, there was a central judiciary, with both local and circuit judges.



Fig. 73. A native judge (The Alkali of Bida)
—Nupe Province

might be made to him from the chief Alkali's court. Cases of murder and manslaughter in particular were usually subject to final revision by the central chief.

Further, in the Fulani empire there was a right of appeal from all courts to the Sarkin Musulmi at Sokoto, who could, if so advised by his Alkali or chief judge, order a retrial of any case, or the removal of any local judge who had given an unjust decision. In the outlying districts of the Muslim states there were local courts, from which appeals lay to the court of the Alkali at the capital; and occasionally also there was a travelling judge (*e.g.* the Selanke of Zaria), whose decisions were subject to revision by the chief Alkali of the state. In the smaller villages the judicial authority was commonly the chief of the village, but minor offences could be dealt with by the heads of wards or families.

(2) *Legal Procedure*

(a) *Public and Private Justice.* Where there is a due recognition of the judicial authorities just described we have a regularised system of public justice. Even where there is no higher central authority than the family head it is still possible to maintain that justice is of a public character, for each family group constitutes an independent state. Where, therefore, one family proceeds against another, such action cannot be classed as private, if there is no higher administrative authority than the family. The conduct of the groups towards each other would be regulated to a great extent by tribal custom, which would have much the same force as international law among civilized states. But the case is different where there is a higher central authority than the family or village, and this authority leaves to families and villages the settlement

of their own disputes. Justice then becomes a private matter, and amongst most of the more primitive tribes of Nigeria disputes were settled by private means. Among the Munshi, for example, the judicial councils of the groups confined their attentions almost entirely to witchcraft cases, witchcraft being regarded as treason against the whole of the group. Otherwise all crimes and torts were settled privately between the families or villages involved, peacefully if possible, otherwise by a resort to force. Disputes between individuals of the same family group would be arranged by the family head, but disputes between individuals of different family or village groups commonly led to family or village feuds. Thus among such primitive tribes as the Mama, Mada, Nungu, or Ninzam, the abduction of a woman from one village by a member of another might lead to a feud between the villages, and any member of one village was liable to be kidnapped or shot by a member of another. Munshi steal and kill each other's cattle to avenge a wrong.

Among the Yergum murder within the family group was regarded simply as an unfortunate affair, but murder by a member of another family called for immediate reparation or became a *casus belli*. The sovereign rights of the group had been infringed.

We may note here two important characteristics of primitive justice : (a) the sense of collective responsibility, and (b) the apparent disregard of criminal motive.

The family and village assume responsibility for the conduct of its members. The offence committed by an individual of a group is visited on the whole group. This principle is not always without merit, for the group will shield its culprit so that the opposing group has no alternative but to act against the whole of the culprit's group ;

and it is for this reason that the British administration has passed a law which authorizes in certain cases the collective punishment of villages. But the principle is productive of constant inter-village feuds, and constitutes to-day one of the main difficulties in the effective administration of justice among the pagan tribes. It also tends to obscure the sense of moral guilt. The punishment of the murderer is less important to the group than the replacement of the murdered man ; and so we find among many tribes (*e.g.* the Sura, Tangale, and Waja) that the group of the murdered man is quite content if the murderer agrees to enter their group and take the place of the member they had lost. Moral abhorrence of his act is absent, so far as the group is concerned. We shall see later, however, that some crimes are among certain tribes regarded as a sin against religion, and have to be wiped out by the performance of magico-religious rites. With the increasing recognition of central authority, private justice tends to give way to public. We can trace the intermediate stages. Among the Warjawa, for example, if a murder was committed the whole of a murderer's family took to flight. The elders of the village then intervened, and counselled the relatives of the murdered man to forgo their right of retaliation and to content themselves with damages, which included the payment of a slave by the relatives of the murderer. A Buduma who was wronged by another would carry off as many of the other's cattle as he could lay his hands on, and would repair with them to the heads of the group. He would then set forth his case, and the heads of the group thereupon assess the number of cattle that might be retained as damages. We see here clearly the transition from private to public justice.

Again, among the Vom people of Berom a murderer was sentenced to death by the chief and elders of the town, but the carrying out of the sentence was left with the injured family. (Even among some Muslim peoples, e.g. the Kanuri, the carrying out of the death-sentence was left by the court to the victim's family). Among the Anaguta things had advanced a stage further, for the sentence was both pronounced and carried out by the chief and elders. Complaints were brought to and settled by them. Among the Ganawuri the death-sentence was carried out by the *sarkin tsafi*. Further, among the Berom, inter-village feuds were commonly settled by the intervention of the tribal chief of Forum. His position, however, was that of an arbitrator rather than of a judge armed with executive power. Among many tribes who regarded murder as a private injury, theft or robbery was considered a public offence. Among the Ayu, for example, the fine of goats imposed on a thief was divided up amongst the whole community. Among tribes whose chief had attained a position superior to that of being a mere president of a number of confederated villages, murder was no longer purely a private matter. It affected the position of the central chief who had been robbed of one of his subjects. And so, even in such an undeveloped kingdom as that of the Bachama, a murderer had to offer reparation to the chief by handing over to him several small girls of his family. Among the Chawai also a murderer had to pay heavy damages to the chief and headmen of the tribe; and among the Bolewa the murderer paid three slaves as damages to the chief and six to the family of the murdered man. In the highly organized states private justice, in the strict sense, does not exist. With society divided into so many different types (and

also ethnic stocks) public law forms the very basis of its continued existence. The collective responsibility of the group, however, is still recognized in many cases. Thus, if a murderer succeeded in escaping into foreign territory his relatives would be required to pay blood-money to the family of the murdered man. In Bornu, and no doubt elsewhere, if the perpetrator of a murder went undetected the district in which the murder was committed might be required to pay collective damages.

(b) *The Law of Evidence.* In the pagan courts the method of conducting trials is informal and varies with circumstances. The court is the *zauve* or outer porch of the presiding judge's residence. The contending parties are generally present in person, but occasionally they are represented by friends. The petitioner states his case, the defendant makes his reply, and both parties are subjected to questions by the tribunal. Witnesses¹ are then heard, and after a discussion of the case the president of the court promulgates the decision. The trial is commonly a public matter, and the public present in court are frequently (*e.g.* among the Yoruba and Igara) called on to express their opinion before the final decision, going either to the right or left side of the court according as they believe the evidence to be true or false. If the evidence is insufficient, or of a contradictory character, resort is had to the oath, for the primitive mind demands proof rather than evidence. The general belief in the magical effects of the oath is a fairly certain guarantee of its efficacy. The oath is usually proffered in the first instance to the defendant. Refusal to take the oath would be interpreted as a confession of guilt. Its acceptance would secure for the accused a verdict of "not proven,"

¹ Relatives are commonly regarded as incompetent witnesses.

even if the plaintiff also offered to be sworn. The matter would then be left to the judgment of God, who would surely bring misfortune on one who had foresworn himself. The operation of the oath may thus be deferred for months, or even years. Even the actual swearing of the oath may be deferred, *e.g.* it may not be taken at the trial at all but be postponed (as commonly among the Gwari) to the time of the annual festival. In this respect the imprecatory oath is to be distinguished from the trial by ordeal, by which an immediate decision and automatic punishment are attained.

But before proceeding to the trial by ordeal a few examples may be given of the various kinds of oath in use. The oath is not merely a solemn asseveration that the speaker is telling the truth—it is a self-imprecation charged with punishing power. It may be sworn by the elemental forces of nature such as lightning or the sun, or by the spirit of some forefather, or by some sacred object charged with magical power, or by some non-sacred object symbolizing the kind of punishment that will overtake the swearer if he perjures himself. The pagan Fulani swear by lightning without the use of any medium. But a medium is generally used, and is suggestive of imitative magic. The Mbarawa swear by a sacred sword, and expect to be slain magically by a sword if they have lied. The oath of a Kaje consists in jumping backwards and forwards over a sword, arrow, skull, and the leaf of the sacred shea-tree. The Butawa swear by crossing over a sacred neolithic axe, and believe that a perjurer is slain by a meteorite. Among the Kagoro and Moroa the swearer holds ashes in his hands, and asserts that if he is lying he will become as white as ashes ; or he may take some corn and aver that, if he is perjuring himself, the next corn he

eats will surely choke him. A Malabu claiming a piece of land would eat some earth taken from the disputed area and say, "If this is not my earth, then may I never eat the fruits thereof and live." The Keri-Keri swears on a blacksmith's pincers, saying, "If I am lying, then may I be caught as in a pair of pincers." He then throws the pincers on the ground, or dips them in the blood of the sacrifice.

The Gwari oath is administered by the priest, who addresses the fetish with these words: "If this man is lying, then may he die, but if not may his life be secure." The priest's attendant then whirls the bull-roarer round his head. Sacrifice is offered, and the blood is allowed to flow into a hole in the ground. The hole is then covered over with a stone, this act being symbolical of "the covering up" or burial of a perjurer. By such similitudes the nature of the oath is more keenly realized, and added effect is given to its magical character. The more definitely theistic tribes commonly associate the oath with the name of one of their most powerful deities. The Jukun swear by Echu, the god of lightning, and the Yoruba by Ogun. The Igbira appeals to Agabi, and at the same time drinks a draught of beer from a calabash containing an axe-head. Agabi is thus also apparently the god of lightning.

It is worth noting incidentally that the "oath-draught" is common in Malaysia, where water is drunk into which daggers and spears have been dipped.

The Vere appeals to the sun, and, holding out his bow, calls down death upon himself that very day if he has not spoken the truth. He is then compelled to go out with his bow and hunt some savage animal. If disaster overtakes him he has perjured himself, and his perjury appears

to be regarded as an offence against the sun-deity. The Vere ritual belongs more properly to the sphere of trial by ordeal, about which we may now make a few remarks.

(c) *Trial by Ordeal*. The method of proving the guilt or innocence of an accused person by subjecting him to a physical test which may imperil his life is common among all the pagan tribes. As in the case of the oath, it is an appeal to the supernatural, but it is an appeal which secures an immediate judgment. If the evidence is insufficient the ordeal will reveal the truth or falsity of the charge, and, even where the court is convinced of the guilt of the accused, it may offer him this final public proof. But a charge which is palpably false would not involve recourse to the ordeal, nor would a person be subjected to it who had been caught in *flagrante delicto*. The modes of ordeal employed are various, but the administration of poisonous or pseudo-poisonous draughts is the general method, sasswood or cactus juice being the commonest agents used. The ordeal is conducted publicly, and the draught is administered by the priest. If it is vomited the subject is declared not guilty ; if retained, the poison takes speedy effect, and the subject, thus proved guilty, dies within a few minutes. Auto-suggestion acting on the nerve-centres no doubt has a determining effect ; but manipulation by the presiding priest is of more consequence, for he can regulate the effects of the draught by the infusion of emetics, by allowing the poison to settle before administering it, or by interfering in some other way with its potency. (Sasswood is said to be rendered peculiarly poisonous by the admixture of common salt). The ordeal draught is frequently administered only at the town where the central priest resides. Occasionally the



Fig. 74. Two Berom men preparing the ordeal-poison
to be used on a chicken—Bauchi Province

From negative kindly lent by Mr. T. L. Suffill of Foram.

poisonous draught is administered to animal representatives of the litigants. Thus among the Munshi and the Plateau tribes the litigants are represented by chickens, and the case is decided according to the way in which the chickens endure the test. (It is worth noting that similar methods are employed by the Dyaks, who present many points of resemblance with the Plateau peoples.)

In addition to the poison method there is a great variety of other ordeals. The use of boiling oil is common throughout West Africa. Among the Basa and Gade, boiling shea-butter is given to the accused, and if his mouth is severely burned he is considered as having been proved guilty. Here possibly also the priest controls the decision, but the neutralizing effect in certain cases of some psychological influence must also be regarded as a possibility. Another favourite Basa ordeal is for the litigants to attempt to pull up by a string a nut which has been embedded in the ground. By burying one nut deeper than another, or by fixing it underneath a stone, the priest could easily pre-arrange the decision, but it is quite possible that the decision is left entirely to chance.

The Pe and Yergum ordeal consists in removing an axe from a pot of boiling water. The Gana-Gana have a mode of ordeal, which is also practised by the people of Benin. A certain juice is squeezed into the accused's eye. If permanent blindness results his guilt is established. Among the Gwari a complainant may challenge the defendant to cross ashes strewn at the threshold of his family's sacred shrine.

The Igbara have several peculiar ordeals. The accused may be required to pass the wing-feather of a chicken through his tongue without bending the feather.¹ Or a

¹ The Edo of Benin have also a feather ordeal.

loose noose may be tied round his wrists, and if it tightens as he bends forward his guilt is proclaimed. If it falls off he is considered innocent. Or he may be required to plunge his arm into a hole in the ground containing a concealed noose. If his arm is caught by the noose he is known to have committed the crime. In these instances it will be observed that the ordeal does not in itself constitute the punishment of the guilty man.

The Kilba, Hona, and Margi have an ordeal which resembles that recorded by Codrington of the Melanesians. The accused has to swim across a pool infested with crocodiles. If he has sworn falsely he is unable to complete the task and remains paralysed in the water. The psychological influence of a guilty conscience would seem here to play a chief part. We may say, indeed, that the general effectiveness of the trial by ordeal is dependent on psychological factors. The guilty man will not usually submit to an ordeal, unless he has previously secured the good offices of the presiding priest. The readiness of the accuser, however, to undergo the ordeal is often accepted as evidence of the truth of his charge. On the other hand, the system of trial by ordeal is ineffective, because it is open to corruption. Further, if the operation of the ordeal is left to chance it must frequently happen that the innocent party suffers. It must be remembered that a verdict of not guilty for the defendant frequently entails the mulcting of the complainant in heavy damages. An unjust accuser is forced to pay compensation to the accused, and he may even be required to sever his connection with the community. Where both parties are sworn the ordeal is bilateral.

With regard to Muslim legal procedure, this is carried out on the well known principles of the Shari'a. One or two points only, therefore, need be noted here. Witnesses

do not swear an oath that they will speak the truth (unless they happen to be the close relatives of the litigant), but the oath on the Koran may be proffered to the defendant or accuser on some material point. Men of known bad character may also be sworn. To the vast majority of Muslim Negroes the oath sworn on the Koran differs little in character from the oath sworn on fetishes by the pagan peoples. There is the same belief in the magical punishment of the perjurer, and I have known of a comparatively highly educated court Malam advising a British magistrate to purchase for his court a fresh copy of the Koran, on the ground that the old one had lost its punishing power !

Trial by ordeal is forbidden by Muslim law, but the elaborate ritual used in the administration of the Muslim oath, and the general belief in the immediate deadly consequences of swearing falsely on the Koran, constitute an ordeal that differs little from the pagan ordeals just described. All ordeals calculated to endanger life are, of course, forbidden at the present time, but the frequency with which pagan communities have to be prosecuted for the breach of this law shows the tenacity with which they cling to their immemorial method of detecting and punishing crime.

(3) *Substantive Law*

We may now leave the subject of legal procedure, or adjective law, and say a few words about substantive law, or the body of legal regulations which govern the social relations. Among the Muslims these regulations are based broadly on the tenets of the Maliki School. These may be modified by local customs, where such customs are not opposed to the teaching of the Koran.

Among the non-Muslim tribes the law is uncodified, being contained in the general body of tribal customs. There is therefore great diversity in the legal regulations of the different tribes, and even as between sections of the same tribe. Substantive law may be conveniently divided into two sections: (a) criminal law, and (b) the law of property and persons. We have only space to make here a few general remarks under each of these heads.

(a) The Criminal Law

Firstly, as regards the criminal law, it is to be noted that, whereas in European countries criminal legal regulations are directed primarily towards the maintenance of public order, in Nigeria they are primarily directed towards the redress of individual wrongs. This is the case not merely among the pagan tribes, but it is also a feature of the Koranic regulations. Fines and damages were therefore the commonest means of redressing injuries; terms of imprisonment were only inflicted as a last resort. Indeed, among most of the pagan tribes this form of punishment was almost unknown.

Another noteworthy feature is the leniency with which female criminals (witches excepted) were treated. A woman was seldom formally tried before a pagan court on a criminal charge. If she committed an offence she was usually sent by her husband to be summarily punished by her father, and there the matter ended. Even a murderess was so treated by the Gwari, and among the Yoruba she might be fined or imprisoned but she was never decapitated. It was a general rule that no woman could be directly executed; though it was not uncommon for a murderess (*e.g.* among the Nupe) to be buried in the ground up to the neck and left there to die.

Murder was treated in a great variety of ways. In the Muslim states a murderer was usually put to death, unless the bereaved family agreed to accept in lieu the payment of blood-money. Among the Yoruba he might escape with a heavy fine, but he was more commonly put to death by being stunned and decapitated.

Among the primitive tribes murder was a private injury rather than a public offence. If the murderer could escape the first burst of anger against his deed he could usually effect reconciliation by payment of compensation, either by gifts of gowns, goats, slaves, or boys and girls of his own family, or by himself taking the place of the murdered man in the bereaved family. Failure to offer adequate reparation would lead to a blood-feud, and any member of the injured group might kill a member of the murderer's group. Among the Bachama, if a murderer succeeded in making his escape any member of his family might be seized and put to death, so the whole family usually took to flight and remained in exile for a year. They might then return in safety, and secure peace by the payment of compensation. The Barke murderer was expected to hang himself; and among the Angas and Gwari and many other tribes murderers were sold into slavery. Among the Yungur the relatives of a murdered man killed the murderer if they could catch him. If he escaped they smashed his house; but at the end of a year he might return in safety, the head of his family having secured peace by fixing a new calabash at a place where the roads meet.¹ Among the Kuta and Bosso Gwari the murderer fled and was not pursued. His compound, with all its occupants and property, was confiscated, half being taken by the court and half handed to the

¹ Religious rites are often performed at cross-roads.

bereaved family. The murderer's family absolved themselves from suspicion of complicity by gifts to the headman and elders of the town. The loss of civil rights and confiscation of property were common penalties for inexcusable homicide.

The spilling of blood is thought by most primitive peoples to endanger the spiritual welfare of the community, and so we commonly find that expiatory rites are performed to wipe out the offence. Among the Kadara the murderer has to absent himself from the village until these rites have been carried out. The Kaje murderer remains in exile for two years ; he is then allowed to return home and atone for his crime by giving an expiatory feast. But even then he is not wholly re-admitted to society, for none will eat or drink with him for the rest of his life. Among the Jarawa murder was atoned for by a rite in which a cow was lifted against the back of the murderer, and was then ceremonially slain.

It is noteworthy that if the murder has been committed without the actual spilling of blood, there is less spiritual danger incurred. The Nungu, for example, believe that a man who kills a relative by bloody means will be stricken with leprosy, but that if he strangles his victim he avoids this risk. In the more developed pagan states murder was regarded not merely as involving spiritual danger to the community, but as robbing the king of one of his subjects. The state therefore took action. Among the Jukun, for example, the king could either enslave the murderer and all his family, or order him to be pierced by a spear and his body to be thrown into the bush.

The distinction between deliberate and accidental homicide is well recognized ; but among the pagan tribes a man who has accidentally killed another is commonly

subjected to the trial by ordeal to prove that his homicide was not intentional. Custom also requires him to pay blood-money to the family of the deceased. Homicide, however, is generally regarded as justifiable in self-defence, or on finding a man committing adultery with one's wife. Injuries sustained at festivals and resulting in death were excusable homicide even among Muslims. One who killed his *abokin wasa* ¹ during the New Year festival was excused, and the Fulani youth who killed another with a stick at the *Shero* ² festival was held blameless. Further, in the Muslim courts of Bornu an intoxicated man who killed another was held to be not guilty of murder. On the other hand, highway robbery and serious cases of theft were frequently punished by death. Theft was also punished by selling into slavery, the imposition of fines, and payment of damages. Among the Arago, thieves commonly became the slaves of the chief. There can be little doubt that professional thieves, both in the Muslim and pagan states, frequently carried on their depredations with the connivance and protection of the chiefs. In the Muslim states such men were well known to the judicial authorities, and if they found their way into court escaped with some trivial punishment. On the other hand, persons convicted of theft were commonly deprived of their limbs—a hand for the first offence, a foot for the second, and the other hand for the third. Native Muslim judges often state to-day that the abrogation of these severe punishments has led to a great increase of theft. Among the Kanuri a thief for his first offence was buried for a day in the ground up to the neck,

¹ See p. 213.

² At the *Shero* ceremony Fulani youths submit themselves publicly to severe thrashings at the hands of their comrades as a proof to their lovers of courage and endurance.

honey being placed on his head to attract flies. Thieves were also occasionally (*e.g.* among the Umaisha Basa) required to make good their theft by personal service on the complainant's farm.

Assaults were usually punishable by fines and damages. In the Muslim courts the damages were assessed in proportion to the amount of blood lost. In some Muslim states (*e.g.* Hadeija) the *lex talionis* was observed, and the man who had inflicted the loss of an eye suffered the loss of his own. The pagan Igara also observed this law. One who had struck off another's arm had his own struck off in return. Assaults among the Basa were sometimes punished by stripping the offender of his clothes, covering him with dirt, and exposing him in the market-place.

Witchcraft, the most heinous crime a Negro can commit, was punished in a great variety of ways. In the Niger regions the witch, if a man, was thrown into the river ; if a woman she was sold into slavery. An Ekiti female witch was dragged through the bush by a rope fastened to her foot until she died. Among the Jarawa the witch was drowned or burned, the duty of carrying out the sentence being left to men who were believed to be witch-proof. Among the Malabu and some other tribes the crime of witchcraft not merely involved the witch, but his entire family, who were sold into slavery. Among some tribes (*e.g.* the Vere) the witch who had been proved guilty by the sasswood trial was allowed a period of time in which to withdraw his spells. If he did so he was absolved, if not he was secretly put to death. Witchcraft cases were not infrequently tried in the Muslim courts, though there is no authority for this in the Muslim Shari'a. The most learned judges, however, refused to deal with

charges of this kind, and punished those who ill-treated persons suspected of sorcery. In the pagan courts any one who brought a charge of witchcraft which was proved by the ordeal to be false was required to pay heavy damages to the defendant. In this way society protected itself from indiscriminate charges. Those charged with witchcraft, however, were probably persons whom the community regarded as objectionable, and of whom they wished to be rid.

Adultery, which is among ourselves a civil injury, is treated by most of the tribes as a criminal offence, and is also sometimes regarded (*e.g.* by the Waja and Idoma) as a sin against religion which must be purged away by sacrifice. The adulterer is, in the first instance, always liable to summary punishment at the hands of the injured husband. Tribal law also takes cognizance of the offence, and the adulterer may be required to pay damages to the aggrieved husband. Among the Munsh the damages are payable to the woman's senior male relative, and among the Margi the public nature of the offence is recognized by the imposition of a fine payable to the chief. Among the Mama, adulterers are whipped by the whole community, the woman by women, and the man by men. Adultery with a chief's wife generally (*e.g.* among the Jukun) meant death for the male offender, but among some tribes (*e.g.* the Chamba) the male adulterer became the chief's slave. Among the Yoruba male adulterers, if not killed, were heavily fined or imprisoned. The female adulterer might also be imprisoned. Among the Idoma an adulterer, if not ransomed by his friends, was sold into slavery; while among the pagan Fulani he was fined by the head of the settlement, who appropriated half the amount of the fine and gave the other half to the injured

husband. It is noteworthy that among some pagan tribes (*e.g.* the Igara) a false accusation of adultery made by a woman entitled the wronged person (who justified himself by appealing to the ordeal) to sell the woman into slavery. Among many tribes (*e.g.* those of Nasarawa) adultery had no public penal consequences at all. Among the Muslims adultery was theoretically punished by stoning to death, and this sentence was not infrequently imposed. The public flogging of both parties was, however, a commoner mode of punishment.

Other offences were generally dealt with by the imposition of fines, the usual rule being that half of the fine was paid as compensation to the injured party, while the other half became the perquisite of the court. The losers of suits were also sometimes (as among the Basa) required to supply the members of court with quantities of beer.

Imprisonment, as we have said, was not a usual form of punishment among the pagan tribes, but there were prisons in all the Muslim states. The prison dungeon was situated in the chief's compound. The ancient prison at Sokoto was a building about 80 feet square, and crowded to overflowing. In the centre there was a dungeon in which the worst criminals were interned. The food was a little guinea-corn and water, but this diet might be augmented by the prisoner's friends. Prisoners were brought out occasionally to work on the city walls. Sir Frederick Lugard has given a lurid description of the state in which he found the prison at Kano at the taking of that city in 1903.

"The interior," he says, "is divided into two compartments, each 17 feet by 7 feet and 11 feet high. This wall was pierced with holes at the base, through which the legs of those sentenced to death were thrust up to the

thigh, and they were left to be trodden on by the mass of other prisoners till they died of thirst and starvation. The place is entirely air-tight and unventilated except for the one small doorway, or rather hole, in the wall through which you creep. The total space inside is 2618 cubic feet, and at the time we took Kano 135 human beings were confined here each night, being let out during the day to cook their food, etc., in a small adjoining area. Recently as many as 200 have been interned at one time. As the superficial ground area was only 238 square feet there was not, of course, even standing room. Victims were crushed to death every night, and their corpses were hauled out each morning. The stench, I am told, inside the place when Colonel Morland visited it, was intolerable, though it was empty, and when I myself went inside three weeks later the effluvium was unbearable for more than a few seconds. A putrid corpse even then lay near the doorway. One of the great pools in the city is marked as the place where men's heads were cut off; another near the great market is the site where limbs were amputated almost daily."

Before leaving the subject of the criminal law it is worthy of notice that among the pagan tribes the appreciation of criminal motive is deficient. We can discern this in the automatic character of the systems of punishment, and in the frequent failure (*e.g.* among the Igbara) to distinguish between murder and accidental homicide. Nevertheless, the quality of mercy is not absent, and we find numerous instances of thieves being excused by tribal custom on the ground that, at the time of their theft, they had been suffering from hunger.

(b) The Law of Property and Persons

(i) *Land-tenure.* The general principle governing land-tenure is that land is the common property of the tribe as represented by the chief of the political group. The title to land is thus based on a communal usufruc-

tuary right, and whatever radical right the chief may have in theory it does not amount in practice to anything more than the general control over vacant lands in the interests of the whole community. The chief is only proprietor in virtue of his administrative office, and he is obliged by customary law to assign land without rental charge to any one who requires a farm.

The chief of the political group delegates the disposal of land to the village heads, and they may in turn delegate it to the heads of families. It sometimes happens, however, that the administration of the lands is originally invested, not in the chief of the political group, but in the heads of the earliest families. Thus at Osi, in Yoruba country, the disposal of lands is in the hands of a ward head, the *Olorun*, and not in that of the chief of the town. M. Delafosse has noted a similar custom as obtaining in the French Sudan. Individuals and families can thus acquire farming rights on application to the chief (or, as we have seen in certain cases, to the head of the earliest family). Such rights are, however, usufructuary only. The grant may be in perpetuity, but the land is inalienable by sale. It may be sub-let but cannot be sold. It may be given by the grantee to a stranger, but not without the permission of the chief. The chief may indeed demand the return of land not fully utilized to bestow on some one else. The usufructuary grant confers rights usually to all trees, stones, and pools on the land, but there are sometimes reservations against the destruction of certain trees without the sanction of the chief. Sometimes also there are reservations in favour of the planters of trees (Yoruba).

The usufructuary right further confers proprietary rights on all products of the soil granted and on wells

dug. These can be alienated by sale, gift, or contract. A chief cannot therefore dispose of any one's farm until the crops have been removed by the occupier. Such was the customary law, and there was no difficulty in its application in the country districts, where land was plentiful and not likely therefore to acquire a transfer value. In crowded urban areas, however, the old principle was not always observed, and chiefs became inclined to accept rather more than the modest "presents" (*gaisua*) which in former days were given, not as rent, but as a polite acknowledgment of the chief's right to the disposal of lands. In virtue of these larger payments there is a growing tendency for the occupier to regard his farm as alienable property. It is also reported that in the Chad areas farming land has acquired a transfer value. The same may be said of houses in the larger cities. Formerly the right of occupation only was conferred, the site being regarded as the property of the whole community, but in recent years any one in possession of a house which he has built, bought, or inherited is regarded as entitled to dispose of it in any way he pleases.

Further, it would appear that among some pagan tribes the general principles governing land-tenure do not apply. Among the Tangale, for example, vacant land is occupied and sold by individuals on their own initiative, the chief apparently having no say in the matter at all. Among the Dimuk the central chief has no right to the disposal of lands. Among the Waja, it would appear that farms are alienable property, and that in return for a gift of a slave, a horse, or a few cows, a man can secure a farm for himself and his heirs in perpetuity.

Among the Mumbake, Kugama, and Kona, land once granted becomes the property of the grantee and his heirs.

The grantees may emigrate, but descendants returning long afterwards have full rights of re-occupying the ancestral farm. Subsequent cultivators, further, have generally to obtain permission to farm an old farm, not from the chief but from the original cultivator. It would therefore appear that occupancy commonly confers a right which is practically proprietary. This idea would seem to be encouraged by Muslim law ; for although the Maliki code does not regard usufruct as conferring ownership, it seems to consider that a chief loses his rights for all time over lands which he has once conferred. On the other hand, it should be remembered that chiefs could, for a sufficient (and often an insufficient) reason, drive a man out of the community and confiscate his farm.

With regard to the nomad Fulani, the grazing rights which they obtain are of a purely temporary character, and are not governed by the ordinary rules of land-tenure. They are usually obtained by the gift of a sheep or cow to the headman of the sedentary group.

Under the present régime the Government acts as trustee for the people, all lands and rights over land being under the control and subject to the disposition of the Governor, who is required by law to pay due regard to native laws and customs. There are various provisions in the law to prevent the alienation of land to the prejudice of the native community.

Personal and Communal Property. While land only confers a usufructuary right, all other property, whether acquired or the product of a man's own labour, is held without restrictions, and can be alienated by any means whatever. In the case of collective ownership, however, the property can only be disposed of in accordance with the wishes of the majority. Family property is controlled



Fig. 75. A Jen youth—Muri Province

by the family head, and usually consists of the houses which were built by the united efforts of the family, of the products of united agricultural effort, and of family heirlooms. Flocks are sometimes owned by the family collectively, but as a rule each individual has his own sheep, goats, or cattle. Women in general have the same right of enjoyment and disposal of property as men, but we shall see presently that as regards acquisition of property they are frequently debarred from inheriting. Among many tribes women are also debarred from holding land.

(ii) *Inheritance*. The subject of inheritance requires careful study, for there is no sphere in which the answers of natives to questions, loosely put, are more liable to be misleading. If a native is asked who inherits a man's property when he dies, he may say "The younger brother" or "The eldest son." When he says the younger brother, - he may really mean the senior surviving brother, who is normally the deceased's younger brother, or (using "brother" in the classificatory sense) he may mean the eldest surviving son of the next senior generation. Or he may say that the younger brother inherits, without thinking it necessary to add that the younger brother merely holds the property in trust for his brother's son. Or his answer may have in view the inheritance of the headship of the family and of family heirlooms and other collective family property, and have no reference at all to the purely personal property of the deceased.

Further, when he says that the eldest son inherits, a wrong impression may be given, for the eldest son may be required to part with a large part of the inheritance in gifts to his father's brothers and in making provision for his younger brothers and sisters, or he may merely become trustee of the family property. It must be carefully

remembered that among primitive peoples there are distinct rules of inheritance for each form of property, and that one form may be transmitted patrilineally, another matrilineally; one by collateral succession, and another by primogeniture.

The fundamental principle which underlies all the rules of inheritance is that the family property must be maintained at the highest possible level. Women are therefore, among the pagan tribes, generally barred entirely from inheritance, and among the Muslim peoples the share of females is only half that of males. The object of these rules is to prevent the alienation of family property through the marriage of female members of the family with other families, and this object is further attained by the custom of cousin and levirate marriages.

Further, it is to be noted that while individual property is passed on to a man's sons, family property is passed on to the next family heir, who may not necessarily be the son of the deceased family head, but a brother or the son of a brother.

Muslim Procedure. Broadly speaking, we may say that in Muslim communities inheritance of real property and fixtures is bound up with the customary system of land-tenure, and is, in consequence, governed by customary law, while that of personal property is subject to the provisions of the Muslim Shari'a. Thus if a man dies his eldest son usually takes possession of such houses, wells, and fixtures as he considers fit and native custom allows. The remainder he can apportion among his other male relatives according to their condition. Disputes would be referred to the Emir's judicial council or the local executive authority. The deceased's personal property, on the other hand, is divided up in the Alkali's court

according to the elaborate rules of the Muslim law. Standing crops and certain economic trees, such as the locust-bean and monkey-bread, being regarded as the absolute property of the original owner, also come under the jurisdiction of the Alkali's court.

Thus we may say that among the Muslim peoples primogeniture occurs as regards real, but not as regards personal property. Collateral succession occurs in the form of levirate marriage, and generally also as regards the inheritance of social authority, the eldest surviving brother (or the eldest surviving member of the oldest generation) becoming the head of the family.

Pagan Procedure. Among the pagan tribes succession to both real and personal property is either by primogeniture or collateral succession. Property goes to the eldest son or younger "brother," and is practically never divided equally among sons. The Koro seem to be an exception to this rule, as it is said that among them, sons inherit equally—a provision which is no doubt due to the influence of Muslim ideas.¹ Women are generally totally excluded from inheritance of a man's property unless there are no male heirs, but exceptions are sometimes made in the case of women who have borne children to their deceased husbands (Maguzawa). In no case, however, does a woman inherit anything but personal property, though a mother may sometimes act as trustee of land for her son. On the other hand, husbands are generally entitled to a share in any property of their wives which was acquired after marriage, and if the wife dies childless he has usually a claim to a part of her entire estate. There are exceptions, however, to this rule. Among

¹ Among the Munshi and some other tribes the rule of primogeniture is affected by the claim of the wife's family on the first-born child.

matrilineal tribes such as the Vere, the husband, of course, inherits nothing from his wife, and we find the same rule among non-matrilineal tribes such as the Gade, Gwari, and Igbara—the wife's property passing to her mother's family.

Although primogeniture is the commonest form of succession for all forms of individual property, collateral succession is nevertheless also found among a large number of important tribes,¹ the next junior "brother" to the deceased inheriting both real and personal property. But he in turn is usually required to provide for his deceased brother's family. This form of succession has the obvious advantage that the inheritor is of mature age and less likely to squander the family resources.

Usually we find primogeniture existing side by side with collateral succession, the eldest son inheriting the father's personal property, while the younger brother inherits wives, farms, and social authority. Among the Mumuye the eldest son inherits the farm, compound, and any girls who are virgins; while the brother inherits widows, stock, and grain. Among the Jarawa the son takes the farm and other property, but the widows and headship of the family go to the brother. One curious result of this is that an eldest son may in his own compound occupy a junior social position to the children of his great uncle by his grandfather's wives. Among the Vere, property appears to be transmitted matrilineally, and is said to pass (in the case of a man) to his sister. Doubtless, however, it ultimately passes to the sister's son.

The Gwari system of inheritance is that family property goes to the eldest surviving "brother." The deceased's farm would be included, as the Gwari farm is normally worked on the extended family principle. But

¹ Basa, Okpoto, Igara, Busawa, Afo, Gana-Gana, etc.

if the deceased had not been on friendly terms with his younger brothers, then his eldest son would inherit the farm. The eldest son in all cases inherits his father's personal property, but he is bound by custom to give each of the other sons a share.

With regard to the inheritance of widows there are one or two points which deserve notice. Among many tribes who practise the levirate the widows are allowed complete freedom as to which younger " brother " they will marry. Further, an inheritor of widows may give some of the widows to other members of his family, or he may even give them in marriage to some other family in return for a bride-price which he retains. Among some pagan tribes, widows are free to dispose of themselves as they choose, and generally return to their own families, but the inheritor of their husband's property is usually in such cases entitled to compensation if the widows re-marry. Among the Kamuku, sons inherit their father's widows ; but if the son is too young to live with them they may live with whom they please. The son, however, who had inherited would have a claim on any children born of such unions. Among the Gwari a man's widows are inherited by his sister's sons. It is said that among the Igbira the eldest son inherits the property, but that it is the second who takes the father's widows.

The administrator of an estate is usually the principal heir or the senior male member of the family. He may also be a friend, or a favourite slave, or the head of the village. In some cases (*e.g.* among the Dimuk) the widow is allowed to administer the estate on behalf of her son by the deceased. In the case of strangers dying in the town the administrator of the estate is the village head (or, in Muslim communities, the Alkali's court)

Testamentary powers often exert a modifying influence on the customary rules of succession, and it is not unusual for property to be willed away by word of mouth in the presence of witnesses. Among the Yergum an old man will even thus make a bequest of his skull to a favourite son, brother, or other relative. It is to be noted also that among certain tribes (see vol. ii., pp. 124, 125) the rules of succession are considerably simplified by the custom of burying with the deceased the major part of his personal property. It is even the custom among some communities to destroy a dead man's house.

Lastly, the ordinary rules of succession were often upset by greedy chiefs who exacted enormous death-duties. Among the Fulani in particular the head of the local group helped himself, it is said, to as much as half the estate. The estates of rich men were commonly administered by the Emir's malams, and not in the regular civil courts. The amount of death-duties payable on such estates depended on the Emir's whim. Further, on the occasion of the death of a chief the new chief commonly did not merely take over the official regalia of his predecessor, but appropriated as many of the palace concubines and as much of the late chief's private property as he was able to lay his hands on.

There are doubtless many other varieties of inheritance, such as that of the younger son either singly or conjointly with his elder brothers, which I have not had the opportunity of investigating.

For a primitive community in which status rather than contract is the dominant principle, the whole law of property and persons is the direct outcome of the type of social organization in vogue, the rights and duties of the individual being entirely determined by the position he

or she holds in that organization, namely, as husband, wife, child, adopted child, father-in-law, and so on.

For the law of the bride-price see Chapter V., "Marriage" (p. 201 *et seq.*), and Chapter VII., "Marriage Ceremonies" (vol. ii., p. 94 *et seq.*).

(iii) *Slavery.* Slavery, or the system by which one human being becomes the property of another, for whom he is compelled to work, was a characteristic social institution throughout Nigeria in pre-Administration days. All the conditions favourable to slavery were present. There was an abundance of free farming-land, and an absence therefore of a supply of free labour. To obtain workers it was necessary to resort to force. The Muslim peoples, possessed of a superior culture and united by a common religion, did not scruple to use their power in order to attack the weaker tribes and carry off their members as slaves, either for their own use or with a view to exchanging them for other forms of wealth. The pagan areas of the Northern Provinces have thus for centuries been one huge hunting-ground for slaves. The export of slaves was prodigious. From Bornu alone it was estimated by nineteenth-century travellers that ten thousand slaves were annually dispatched from Kuka to Murzuk and Tripoli, and distributed over the countries bordering the northern and eastern Mediterranean. Rohlfs stated that you could find your road across the Sahara by following the line of bones, the remains of slaves who had died on the way.

Edwards reckoned that in 1790 there was an annual export from Africa of something like 74,000 slaves, and it is certain that a large proportion of these came from what are now the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. Some forty years later, when Lander visited the Niger regions, the

local chiefs complained of the stagnation of the slave-trade, but one of Lander's servants saw two hundred slaves exposed for sale at Rabba, £8 to £10 being offered for good-looking boys and girls. In 1894 Canon Robinson stated that 500 slaves were daily on sale in Kano market, and that about one-third of the population of Hausaland was of slave origin. Recently it has been estimated that forty per cent. of the population of the Gire district of Yola are of slave origin, and twenty per cent. of the Kanembu tribes of Bornu.

The ethnological effects of slavery conditions have therefore been immeasurable. The social effects of slavery have also been far reaching. In the Muslim states the social grades were largely determined by the institution of slavery. Society consisted of freemen, freedmen, serfs or domestic slaves, and slaves properly so-called. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that slavery was wholly identified with Islam. Most of the pagan tribes enslaved any strangers on whom they could lay their hands, as well as enemies captured in war. It would appear probable that the recognition that a live prisoner was of more value than a dead one had a moderating influence on the head-hunting habits of many of the pagan tribes. Nor was the pagan system of slavery always extra-tribal, for while the Yergum, for example, forbade the enslavement of members of their own tribe, the Angas freely enslaved members of each other's communities. Custom, however, usually forbade the enslaving of a member of any neighbouring tribe who stood in the relation of *abokin wasa* or "playmate."¹

Inter-tribal slavery also occurred as a mode of punishing certain offences, such as murder and adultery, and Lander

¹ See p. 213.

reported that one Niger chief enslaved his subjects for the most trivial causes. In times of stress pagan parents not uncommonly sold their own children into slavery, and I have heard of Tangale children selling their father for a sack of corn !

Pagans appear to have treated their slaves well, and among some tribes it was a case of adoption rather than slavery. The Anaguta, for example, used to buy from the Fulani slaves whom they treated as members of the family. Any one applying to them the epithet of " slave " would be hotly taken to task by the owner. Male slaves among the pagans usually became free on the death of their master, but female slaves do not appear to have been freed under any circumstances. A female slave might, however, marry a free man.

Among the tribes who practised human sacrifice the victims for the god were usually slaves. Favourite slaves, moreover, were commonly buried alive with their dead master, or slaughtered on the day of his decease.

A few words may now be said about the condition of slaves among the Muslim communities. According to Muslim canon law, slavery arises either from captivity, the prisoner being a non-Muslim, or from birth, the mother being a slave. Between these two classes there was a fairly well-marked distinction in the mode of treatment. The former were slaves properly so-called, and could be sold ; the latter (or domestic slaves) were less slaves than inferior members of the family, and could not—in theory at least—be sold.

We may consider the former class first. They were acquired either as a result of perennial raids made by the Muslim states on neighbouring pagan tribes, or as tribute

annually paid by pagan communities which had been thoroughly subdued. No Muslim can enslave a fellow believer, but this rule was not always observed, and a profession of Islam would not usually save from slavery those who had been animists.

The mode of acquiring slaves was destructive of the pagan population, and one can see vast areas of the Northern Provinces, once thickly populated, now inhabited by a few survivors only. Population depends largely on production, and one of the effects of continuous slave-raids was to confine pagan communities to farming areas, which could not produce sufficient corn for the needs of the people. On the other hand, the lands surrounding the Muslim capitals became densely populated with people of slave origin. This led to two important economic results. It freed the more intelligent classes for the pursuit of industrial and intellectual occupations, and it tended to foster the impression that manual labour, being the work of slaves, was derogatory for a freeman.

The Koran enjoins a considerate treatment of slaves, and the general opinion of those who have most closely studied slave conditions in Nigeria is that, apart from the destructive methods employed in acquiring slaves, their lot was by no means hard. They were not usually overworked, and they enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom. They could—and did, in fact—frequently rise to occupy the highest positions in the state. In Bornu all the captains of the army were slaves or of slave descent. The office of *Kachella* was nearly always held by a slave. It is said that office-holders preferred to nominate slaves as their successors, rather than members of their own families, with a view to preventing domestic jealousies. Among the Fulani it was quite common for a slave not



Fig. 76. Paiemawa women—Bauchi Province

merely to be freed, but to inherit the guardianship of his master's children and property. Slaves might become so rich that they could afford to lend money to their masters.

Newly acquired slaves had, of course, to prove their worth, and were sent out to till the fields. They were expected to work from sunrise to midday, or 2 p.m., for five (sometimes six) days a week. For the rest of the time they could farm on their own account. They were allowed to appropriate the gleanings from their master's crop. Theoretically their property belonged entirely to their owner, but in practice it was seldom confiscated. During the dry season they accompanied their masters on journeys or to war. The owner was expected to provide good food for his slaves while they were at work on his farm. If this were not done the slave was entitled to run away (Kontagora). Slaves who had won the confidence of their masters might come to an arrangement by which, in return for periodical payments, they could farm or carry on industrial work entirely on their own account, generally with a view to obtaining sufficient money for the purchase of their freedom. This system was known as *murgu*. Slaves became attached to their masters by various ties. They were provided with a wife and house, and might even be sent off long distances, trading on their master's account.

Manumission is encouraged in the Koran, and in Nigeria it was not uncommon for masters to manumit meritorious slaves at the Ramadan Festival, or to execute deeds of manumission which took effect on the master's death. A slave who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca was generally freed by his master. Ample opportunity was also usually given for self-redemption, especially by Fulani owners.

In Sokoto, masters were compelled to liberate at a fair rate any slaves who desired their freedom. Freedmen received certificates of freedom in the courts, and might still continue to live on their master's farm as his friends and allies. Self-redemption was unusual in Bornu.

Among disabilities of slaves we may note the following. His life and property were at his master's disposal ; even his children were not his own. If his master had provided him with a wife, his children formed part of his master's estate at death. If his wife belonged to another slave-owner, then the first child of the marriage was claimed by the wife's owner, the second by the male slave's owner, and so on. Children, it may be noted, always took the status of the mother, so that the child of a freewoman and a slave was free, while that of a freeman and a slave woman was the property of the woman's master. The children might, however, be redeemed by money payments, and a freeman could redeem his slave-wife before marrying her.

Slaves had no testamentary powers. Non-domestic slaves could be sold or pawned at their master's pleasure, but this would, as a rule, only occur if the slave had proved lazy or criminal, or if the master had got into financial difficulties. In Nupe country a slave who was being sold against his will could appeal for protection to the administrative authority. Occasionally, however (as, for example, in Bauchi), slaves had to pay an annual sum to their masters as insurance against being re-sold.

The serfs or domestic slaves—*i.e.* the second generation of slaves—had very few disabilities. They could not be sold, they farmed on their own account, and they frequently lived in villages under the control of one of their master's freedmen, paying small dues each year. They

were given free names, and could purchase their freedom at lower rates than slaves of the first generation.

As regards female slaves we may note that while the enforced concubinage of young girls was one of the worst forms of slavery, a slave concubine who had borne a child to her master became virtually a freewoman. She could not be sold except for a criminal offence, and she became legally free at her master's death. During the master's lifetime she could, if he ill-treated her, leave him without redeeming herself. Among many Fulani it was even the custom to free a slave concubine who had conceived by her master, even if she did not subsequently give birth to a living child.

The custom of pawning is to be distinguished from slavery. A man might pawn himself in order to work off a debt, but the creditor could not keep any one in pawn after the debt was discharged. Children were sometimes handed over to creditors as security for the payment of debts, but it was against the letter of the law for a man to pawn any one but himself.

We may add, in conclusion, that when the British Government assumed the administration, one of its first acts was to make illegal the enslaving of any person. It also declared all children born after the first of April, 1901, to be free, and abolished the status of slavery. The holding of slaves was not thereby rendered illegal, but masters could not recover slaves who elected to run away, for the law did not recognize any rights of property in slaves. Slavery has thus practically disappeared, the sources for the supply of slaves having become dried up. Those who are still in a state of slavery are those who have preferred the security of their master's protection to the risk of seeking a livelihood among strangers.

C. Systems of Taxation .

We have little positive information about the ancient systems of taxation in northern Nigeria. We may assume that among the more primitive tribes there was nothing in the nature of direct taxation. Where there was no organized central government there was no necessity for a state treasury. The head of the village or tribe was the *sarkin tsafi* (or religious chief), and any moneys he received from the people were payments for religious services rendered. He also acted with the local elders in a judicial capacity, and they appropriated in return for their trouble a proportion of the fines inflicted or damages assessed.

With the evolution of political, as opposed to religious chiefs, voluntary offerings were made as an acknowledgment of authority. Thus a farmer who had been permitted to take up a new piece of ground would at harvest-time make a courtesy gift to the chief of a few bundles of corn in return for the permission given. These spontaneous offerings (which are known generally by the Hausa term *gaisua*) tended gradually to become more defined, the amounts varying with the ability of the chief to exact them. Not only had farmers to make periodical offerings of corn, but fishermen had to send their largest fish to the chief, and certain animals killed by hunters were a royal perquisite. When the tribe became so far organized as to recognize the authority of a central chief, these semi-voluntary offerings developed into fixed annual payments. The chief exacted tribute in kind, and when he was a man of forceful character he would even set his subjects to till his fields and build his houses. As the sole court of appeal he could also exact large sums as fines or legal dues. Thus among the Bolewa we find the chief in early times exacting

horses or slaves or rolls of cloth from each of his towns, the amounts varying in proportion to the ability to pay. The paramount chief of the Bede demanded one horse and bundles of corn annually from each of his villages, and the women had to go to his town to thresh the corn. Other chiefs derived small revenues from market-dues.

The Kororofa chiefs seem to have depended for their revenue on annual gifts from their subject-peoples. These were known as *Abu-anayin*, and, being semi-voluntary, they had the character of the Hausa *gaisua*. In addition, regular contributions of corn were made for the celebration of the various festivals. These were known as *Fojitswen*, and were religious dues rather than a state tax. But the Kororofa chiefs exacted in addition forced labour from their subjects.

Tribute was also imposed by one tribe or village on its weaker neighbour. This form of blackmail was common in every district until the advent of British administration. The Kaje used thus to exact annual tribute of two slaves from their Kagoro neighbours. The Kagoro elders each gave a child from his family in rotation, until, it is said, a man named Gindong rose up and said that if he were made chief he would provide the tribute. He thereupon struck a silk-cotton tree, and from it a young man and maiden appeared. And thus it was that Gindong founded the dynasty of Kagoro kings.

The Kamberi paid tribute to Yauri, each man having to bring annually one bundle of corn, or a few cowries if the harvest was bad. Failure to pay entailed a raid for slaves. Kano and Katsina were tributary at various times to Bornu, Melle, and Songhai. Zaria is said, in the days of Amina, to have exacted tribute from all the Hausa states. Zaria frequently in its history had to pay to

Bornu (and also to Songhai). Rimfa of Kano is said to have raided Kororofa because they alone of all people had failed to pay him tribute ; and the king of Kororofa is said to have sent the men of Pindiga to attack Kano for a similar failure on the part of the Kanawa. Borgu at several periods of its history was compelled to send large annual consignments of slaves to the Sultan of Bornu, and in its early days is said to have taken tribute from Nikki and Illo.

On the Niger and Benue rivers dues were levied by the more powerful tribes on all passing canoes. Pagan tribes (*e.g.* the Kaje) are even said to have imposed taxes on the Fulani who settled in their country previous to the Fulani jihad !

It is not clear how far the introduction of Islam affected taxation in the earliest times, or what taxes were collected by local chiefs on their own account as distinct from the tribute imposed by a foreign power. There are a few incidental references in the chronicles of Bornu which show that dues were collected in very early times. Thus the first headman of Shami is said to have been given the right by one of the early Sultans to collect dues from traders in spices and perfumes. According to the Kano chronicles, a land-tax, consisting of one-eighth of the crop, was in the thirteenth century collected from all husbandmen ; and in the reign of Kutumbi (1623-48) we first hear of the imposition of *jangali* (cattle tax) on Fulani cattle-owners. In the early half of the eighteenth century Muhamman Sherifa was accused of introducing a variety of imposts which the Muslim chroniclers apparently regarded as illegal ; and in the reign of Kambari (1731-34) the market dues were so high that trade was stifled and the Arab traders had to leave the town.

In Zaria (and also apparently in Kano and Bornu), prior to the Fulani, there was a regular money-tax of 20,000 cowries paid by every father when he married off his son. The collection of this tax was less difficult than might be supposed, as it was the custom then in each village to celebrate all the marriages for the year at a fixed date. Zaria was from the earliest times the principal slave-market of northern Nigeria. We may suppose then that the tribute of slaves known as *jizyah* and imposed on the unconverted tribes had long been in force in Zaria. The Kadara pagans, however, only seem to have paid a poll-tax of one mat per man. In Bornu, in addition to the tithe on corn payable each year to the Sultan, there was the *binimram*, or tax payable to the fief-holder. Nomad herdsmen were also required to give one cow in ten to the tribal Chima.

It would appear, then, that there were very elaborate systems of taxation in the Muslim states prior to the Fulani jihad. The tithes of crop sanctioned by Muslim law were no doubt paid by all Muslims. But the practice of the chiefs seems to have varied greatly in the different states, and to have diverged very considerably from those sanctioned by the Muslim Shari'a. Even after the jihad we find the greatest diversity. Thus in Kano the taxes imposed by the Fulani rulers were the *zaka*, or tithe of corn; the *kurdin kasa*, or *kharaaj*,¹ a land-tax or rent imposed on pagan lands occupied by Muslims; and the *jizyah*, or the slave-tax paid by unconverted pagans to their Muslim conquerors. There was also the *jangali*, or cattle-tax.

In Zaria the land-tax took the form of a tax on hoes

¹ This word has been officially adopted by the Government as a general term for taxation.

(12,000 cowries per hoe), the old marriage-tax having been abolished. In Sokoto and Gando there were no taxes levied on the people except the tithe of corn, the Fulani central governments being dependent for their revenues on the proportion of taxes forwarded annually by the subordinate Emirates. Hundreds, and even thousands of slaves, millions of cowries, and enormous quantities of cloth and other gifts, were received in this way every year by Sokoto and Gando. In 1894 Kano's tribute to Sokoto was 100 slaves and 100 horses, 15,000 gowns, 10,000 turbans, and various other things, Bauchi sent 500 slaves, and Adamawa 2,000 !

In addition to these general taxes, there were in all the Muslim states innumerable special imposts. Accession duties had to be paid by newly appointed office-holders—a system which entailed flagrant corruption, as greedy chiefs would sell the office to the highest bidder. Death-duties were generally paid. Every form of handicraft was separately taxed, and tolls were taken from merchants, traders, and from passing caravans. Even *bori* dancers,¹ drummers, and bee-keepers were subject to special dues. A tax was also imposed on all irrigated crops. On the other hand, certain classes of persons were occasionally exempted from taxation. The Kanembu spearmen of the Shehu of Bornu were, for example, exempted from all the usual taxes. The Karda also occupied this privileged position, as an acknowledgment of hospitality shown at one time to Lamino.

The general system of taxation was theoretically justifiable. It was based on Muslim law. But the arbitrary

¹ *Bori* is a self-induced condition of ecstasy suggestive of possession. The dances associated with *bori* are often of a debauched character (see also vol. ii. p. 34).



Fig. 77. "Bori" dancing

methods of assessment, and extortionate methods of collection, robbed it of its religious sanction, and led to the economic paralysis of the country. The duty of collecting the revenues was left in the hands of the fief-holders, influential men, or court favourites, among whom the country was divided up into scattered "fiefs" or dependencies. These men resided at the capital, and delegated their duties to minor officials known to the Hausa as *Jekada* and in Bornu as *Kingam*. These in turn employed retainers to collect the taxes from the villages. Under this system extortion and oppression were rampant. The subordinate officials, who in theory were mere messengers and had no power, took away with them every year, and often more than once a year, as much tribute as their blackmailing methods could exact.

Only a small proportion of the taxes thus collected ever reached the central authority. Thus it is reported from the Gujba district of Bornu that if the authorized tax was 300 gowns, 1000 would be collected, and that where 1000 saas of corn (1 saa=25 lb.) were legal tithe on corn, an amount greatly exceeding this would be taken from the people. The depredations of these officials among the more primitive tribes led to frequent rebellions, in consequence of which their country was ravaged and depopulated. In the latter days of Fulani rule no limit was placed to the number of slaves demanded. Many pagan tribes completely disappeared, and many others were only saved from annihilation by the timely arrival of the British.

D. Warfare and Weapons

The war organization of the Muslim states has been adequately described by writers such as Denham and

Barth. A few remarks only need be made here. Raids on neighbouring pagan tribes were considered a pleasant and profitable way of spending the dry season. No great courage was required, and the booty captured more than compensated for the discomfort of campaigning. If a town could not be taken by assault it could usually be reduced by the perennial destruction of its crops, or by bribing some of the enemy leaders, as Belo did in the case of Machika. Hill pagan tribes were often forced to submission by their inability to obtain their water-supply. Weaker peoples usually bought off stronger with gifts of slaves, corn, or kola-nuts. Some of the pagan peoples, such as those of the Bauchi Plateau, occupied positions so strong that they were able to maintain their independence. The Fulani never really conquered the Kebbi Kingdom of Argungu, and were finally obliged to make a written treaty with these people in 1866. Lander formed the opinion that the Fulani were poltroons and only succeeded by reason of superior shrewdness. They had little difficulty in obtaining recruits, for they encouraged runaway slaves to join them, and thereby obtain their freedom. These were commonly arranged in companies according to their tribe, and officered by their own tribesmen.

When the Muslims fought among themselves it was customary to give warning to the enemy of the intended attack, sudden surprise being considered an unfair trial of strength. The warning was often couched in metaphor, and it is recorded that before the Fulani attacked Dadui they sent the chief the following message : " The chief of Dadui may get some puddings ready, and we shall bring him milk to mix with them and all partake together." To which the chief of Dadui replied : " If you are men come, for I have meat all ready. Bring the sauce and we



Fig. 78. A Jarwa (Jarawa) and shield—
Bauchi Province



Fig. 79. A warrior of Kanam, Borom
tribe—Bauchi Province



Fig. 80. Berom warriors—Bauchi Province



Fig. 81. Berom warriors—Bauchi Province



Fig. 82. A Berom chief—
Bauchi Province



Fig. 83. A Borom (Kanam) shield
made from an elephant's ear—
Bauchi Province

shall eat together." The pagan peoples often exhibited a similar courtesy, and in 1914, when the Basa believed all the British to be dead, they sent word to the chief of Koton Karifi that they would attack his town in four days' time. They kept their word, and were greatly surprised to find they had to deal not merely with the chief of Koton Karifi, but with a British District Officer and Government police armed with rifles!

Among the pagans mild warfare between neighbouring villages was common. Private feuds of this character were usually the result of wife-stealing, or a charge of witchcraft, or followed on a dispute over the farming boundary. If the villages were of the same or kindred tribes the captured heads of enemies were usually returned on the conclusion of peace (*e.g.* Kagoro and Ataka).

For the more serious contests elaborate preparations were made. The auspices were taken (Ankwe) and sacrifices made. The Yoruba tribes offered human victims. Ankwe warriors abstained from beer, and did not sleep with their wives for three days before setting out. The Wurkum, on the other hand, indulged in a three-days' carouse in order, they said, to raise their courage to the necessary pitch. Every man had to furnish his own food-supply, which he carried over his shoulder. When this was exhausted he trusted to his foraging skill. Among the more powerful tribes subject-villages through which the army passed were required to provide supplies. Among some tribes (*e.g.* Igara) wives accompanied their husbands in order to cook their food; and, if the battle took place near home, the women went out with the men to urge them on by shouting and waving branches of trees (Basa and Seiyawa). Some of the tribes had bands to accompany the army (Seiyawa). Outposts were used,

and generally consisted of the bravest men, who were armed with short bows (Mama and Mada) ; man-traps were also laid (Ganawuri).

The fight was begun by the beating of drums (Ankwe), and the first attack was made by the bowmen. The Ningi bowmen advanced under cover of a swordsman's shield. If the tribe possessed cavalry the horsemen waited for an opportunity to break into the fight and use their throwing-spears. Throwing-clubs were used at fifty yards. The chief of the tribe took no part in the fight, the direction of which was in the hands of a captain specially appointed for the occasion.

A main object was to capture the enemy leader and put him (and, if possible, his family) to death. Women and children were spared, and taken away to live as wives or slaves with their captors—a practice which, to a great extent, explains the intermixture of the tribes. Head-hunters endeavoured to capture as many enemy heads as possible. Non-head-hunters preferred to capture and enslave their enemy rather than kill him. The tribal chief generally claimed a large share of the captives. Thus among the Ningi if a warrior captured ten men the chief took five ; if five the chief took two ; if three the chief took one.

The river-tribes carried on their warfare in canoes. Each tribe had a fleet of canoes, one of which might carry as many as forty men armed with bows and arrows or dane-guns. Lander reported that the Niger was so unsafe in 1832 that traders travelled in companies of ten or twelve canoes, and always passed the more dangerous towns at night. Oldfield, some time later, saw a Funda canoe pursued by a Basa war-canoe, which was packed with bowmen. He also reported that it was the practice

of the chief of Iddah to make night-attacks with canoes on riverain towns.

A defeated enemy cast ashes on their heads in token of submission. Among many tribes (*e.g.* Idoma, Mama, Mada, Nungu, and Ninzam) leaves of the male shea-tree, waved above the head, were accepted as a sign for a truce.

Weapons of Offence may be classified as piercing, cutting, stunning, and perforating or shattering. Among piercing weapons we find the arrow, spear, and dagger; among cutting, the sword, knife, axe, and throwing-knife; among stunning, the sling and throwing-club; and among perforating or shattering, the dane-gun. The distribution of the various weapons is of such great ethnological importance that a detailed map should be prepared indicating the locality of each main type. At present we must confine ourselves to a description of such types as have come to our notice.

Bows and Arrows are, with few exceptions, found among all the tribes. They are not used by the Shuwa or Kanuri, and appear to have only recently been adopted by the Ankwe, Tera, Awok, Longuda, Chum, Borok, Bangunji, Dadiya, and Munshi.

Bows are made of bamboo or some strong resilient wood.¹ They are plain, never composite, and, except among the Hausa and Paiemawa, never have any suggestion of the Asiatic bend. The length varies greatly. Thus, while the Hausa, Jarawa, and Fulani bows are five feet long, those of the Mada and most of the pagan tribes are only three feet. The bow is usually oval-shaped, but the Mada bow is made out of half of a split branch. Among the Muslim peoples, and some pagan tribes such as the Ganawuri, Irigwe, and Vom Berom, there is a

¹See. p. 147.

groove at the side of one end, over which the string passes, a leather binding being used to prevent the splitting of the wood. But among the majority of tribes there is a notch at one end, over which the string is passed when the bow is required.

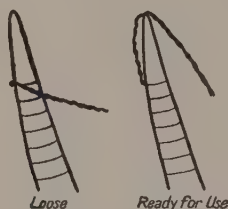


Fig. 84. Method of fitting bowstring

The Mada pierce two holes for the bowstring—one at each end. The bowstring is always of hide, never of vegetable material.¹ The arrow-shafts are of reed. They are notched at the end, the notch being prevented from extending by a binding of tendon (cow's or roan's) or with reed grass which includes the horns of the nock (Borom). The head of the arrow has a pointed extension, which is let into the reed-shaft and kept in position by a tendon binding.

Arrow-heads are never of the socketed type. The arrow-head is of triangular blade-like shape or spiral, and lacerating barbs are common. But wooden-headed arrows, hardened in a fire, are used by the Mama, Ninzam, Iyashi, and some Jarawa and Sura. The Jukun also are said to have used wooden pointed arrows in former times. Unbarbed arrow-heads are also found, *e.g.* among the Borom and Ganawuri. Arrows with removable heads are used by the Jukun, Ningi, Afawa, Paiemawa, and some of the Yola tribes. The head is only let into the shaft about

¹ Children occasionally make bow-strings of vegetable material.

one inch. After striking the target the embedded head cannot be removed, unless it is cut out with a razor. This type of arrow is common among the Bushmen of South Africa. Arrows are never feathered. They are carried in bamboo quivers covered with hide. The Ningi cover their quivers with palm-fibre, which they smear with a gutta-percha juice to make them watertight.

With a few exceptions (*e.g.* Mumuye) all the tribes poison their arrows, using the juice of various plants, snake-poison, or decayed animal matter. The Jukun, in particular, were noted for the virulence of their poisons, which were strophanthus, or juice taken from the gland of the puff-adder. During the preparation of the poison a Jukun was careful to avoid all relations with his wife.

The Hausa goes to a hunter for his poison, and as the hunter prepares the poison he utters phrases such as: "May your enemy be unable to walk (after being struck), even to cross a road; may he be unable to reply to a salutation; may he die at once." Antidotes are known and are usually provided, together with the poison, in case the purchaser's family or friends were accidentally scratched with the poisoned weapon. The blood of the *varanus niloticus* monitor and of certain rats was believed by some Hausa to be an effective antidote, and it is possible that here we have a link with totemic ideas. The secret of poison is often confined to a single family of the village (Piti).

Fulani and Hausa used fire-tipped arrows for setting fire to enemy houses. Arrows with heads blunted with a bulb of beeswax, or the coagulated juice of a fig-tree, are used by some tribes (*e.g.* Jarawa) for killing birds without injuring their feathers or skins.

Cross-bows are, as far as I know, only found among the Yoruba. They are, no doubt, of foreign (Portuguese?) origin, but the method of releasing the arrow seems to be peculiar to the Yoruba and Fan. The stock is split horizontally. The two halves are held apart, and the bowstring is then pulled back and inserted in a notch made in the upper half. When the two halves of the stock are allowed to snap together a peg in the lower half shoots into the notch and releases the string and arrow.

It remains to add that bowmen generally use an iron or wooden ring on the right thumb to make easy the drawing back of the string. Over the back of his left hand he wears a pad to protect the hand from the twang of the bowstring.

Spears. Spears are *par excellence* the weapon of Africa. In Nigeria they co-exist with the bow, being the weapon of horsemen, while the bow is that of the foot-soldier. Some tribes, however, such as the Shuwa and Kanuri, use the spear exclusively; while others, like the Igbira, Kamuku, Kupa, Gongla, Mumbake, Paiemawa, Ngwoi, Gupa, Gana-Gana, Bura, Hina, and Vere, use the bow exclusively. There are various enclaves in Africa where the bow is the exclusive weapon, so that no ethnological conclusions can be based on the fact that the spear is not used.

North of the Congo spears are almost universally of the socketed pattern, and this is the usual type in northern Nigeria. It is therefore of great interest to note that the Mama, Mada, Yergum, and Montoil use spears of the tanged pattern common in South Africa. Some Jukun and Chamba spears are also said to be tanged. Spears are further differentiated into (1) thrusting and (2) throwing. The thrusting-spear is heavy, has a bladelike head,

and is often entirely made of metal ; the throwing-spear is light, has a bamboo shaft, the head is arrow-like, and generally, but not always, barbed, and there is usually a piece of metal at the base of the shaft which serves as a counterpoise.

Both types of spear can be used by a single warrior. Thus the Kanembu horsemen carried a thrusting and two, three, or four throwing-spears as well. The thrusting-spear of the Fulani and Hausa is usually about six and a half feet long, and made entirely of metal. The butt-end, shaped like an axe-head, is rested in the stirrup. The head is eight inches long, and is barbed. The shaft is often inlaid with brass, and may have a brass knob two-thirds of the way down to balance the weight of the head. I have seen Ningi spears eight feet long, with a blade two and a half feet long, and three inches broad at the centre. The Hausa spear closely resembles that of the Somali.

Swords, Daggers, and Knives. Among the Muslim peoples we find the cross-handled Semitic sword. This sword, of late introduction, does not require any comment beyond the fact that it occurs occasionally in a form so exaggerated that the blade may be six inches wide at the hilt (Ningi). Far more interesting are the short double-edged swords of some of the Bauchi and Nasarawa tribes, which distinctly recall the short swords of the Roman soldier. This weapon, which is used both for cutting and thrusting, is about two feet long, and has a pronged iron handle with wooden grip. The blade is about two and a half inches wide, and the scabbard is usually two flat pieces of wood bound together with leather ; or it may be wholly made of hide. It is found among the Berom, Irigwe, Jarawa, Bankalawa, Paie-mawa, Denu, Bobar, Galambe, Malabu, and Mada. Long

knives are also carried by the Idoma and Basa. The Basa knife has a poisoned blade, and is carried on the forearm by means of a ring, which slides down the wrist when a thrust is made. The Munshi, Mada, Jarawa, Teria, Berom, and Irigwe have daggers of a similarly ringed pattern. The Ayu and Kagoma are said to have wooden swords, but I have no particulars of these weapons.

Axes are of uniform pattern, as far as the method of fixing the head to the haft is concerned, the head invariably passing through a perforation in the haft. The blades are often elaborately worked. The Hausa (and Fulani) war-axe, known as the *barandemi*, closely resembles the Basuto axe. Incidentally the Hausa agricultural axes, known as *dundurusu* and *sitaka*, differ little from those of the Zulu. The Afawa, Ningi, Butawa, and Kudawa have a peculiar battle-axe, the blade, which is ten inches long, being only one inch wide at the head, and tapering to half an inch at the base. Axes are used by the Manga, Gwari, Iyashi, Kamberi, Koro, Lala, Mada, Yungur, Mumbake, Munshi, and many other tribes.

Throwing-knives—which apparently came into Nigeria by way of Bagirmi—are confined to Bornu. The ancient Jukun are said to have used them, but this is doubtful. The knives are of the ancient Egyptian pattern, and consist of a hand-grip and three or four prongs with both ends sharp, all lying on the same plane. They are used by the Manga, and it is said that a skilful thrower can cut through a horse's fetlock at fifty yards.

Throwing-clubs have a notable distribution, being confined almost exclusively to Bauchi, Muri, and Nasarawa provinces. They are used by the Angas, Ningi, Sura, Ankwe, Pe, Tula, Awok, Tangale, Afawa, Borok, Kushi,

Yergum, Zumper, Jukun, Mama, and Mada. In French Sudan their use seems to be confined to the Senufo. In South Africa they are a favourite weapon with the Zulu. They are of a simple type—short, and with a knob at the end, from which they are known as knobkerries. Each spearman generally carried two or three throwing-clubs, which he used in the attack or for knocking out prisoners who attempted to escape. Some tribes, such as the Jarawa, only used the throwing-club for hunting game.

Slings of the cord pattern have a wide distribution, being found among the Beri-Beri, Jarawa, Longuda, Waja, Kushi, Bangunji, Kagoro, Mumuye, Jukun, Bachama, Zumper, some Gwari, Ngwoi, Yagba, and Aworo. The sling is usually made of Hibiscus fibre (*rana*), and the missile is a stone, which can be thrown fairly accurately for one hundred yards. Some Igbara use a staff-sling. The missile is a ball of mud. This is moulded on to the end of the stick, and by the sudden jerking of the stick the ball of mud can be sent a considerable distance. Apart from its use as a weapon of war the sling is commonly employed by small boys for driving birds from the crops, a use to which the sling was also put by the boys of ancient Egypt.

Dane-guns. We may conclude this section by noting that the use of dane-guns, which were imported from the south, was principally confined to the southern tribes, such as the Yoruba, Basa, Idoma, Igbara, and Igara. They were also used by the Muslim tribes of the north. The Hausa and Fulani commonly employed them for discharging fire-tipped arrows in order to set fire to the thatch of enemy houses.

Weapons of Defence

(a) *Shields.* Among weapons of defence we shall consider first the various types of shields—a study which has contributed to the framing of a great many ethnological theories. Some tribes, such as the Kamuku, Ngwoi, Gana-Gana, Kugama, Kona, Borgawa, Dakakari, Irigwe, Teria, and Zul, do not use shields at all; while others, like the Basa, have only adopted them within the last hundred years. But the majority of tribes employ shields of various shapes and material.

We may note first the small circular leather shield with central grip used by bowmen, and believed to be of Asiatic origin. This shield has a wide distribution, for we find it among the Hausa, Afawa, Jukun, Angas, Chum, Dadiya, Mada, Yergum, Montoil, Ankwe, Borok, Bangunji, Kushi, Pero, Ningi, Pe, Sura, Bobar, Jarawa, Kamu, Tula, Tangale, and Borom. It is made of the hides of cattle, buffaloes, elephants, giraffes, or camels, and has a central boss. A Jarawa shield of this description had the edges reinforced on the inside with round sticks, made fast to the shield with leather binding. (The reinforcement of the small round shield is, however, unusual.) The handle was horizontal, and consisted of two pieces of bamboo bound together with a leather strap. The shield was three feet in diameter, but the bowman's shield is usually much smaller, while that employed by spearmen is much larger. A large Nupe shield could cover five or six men. Hausa and Fulani cavalry used rectangular hide shields five feet high. Rectangular or oblong shields of leather were also used by the Ngamo, Keri-Keri, Ngizim, Bede, Katai, Piti, Zaranda, and Mumuye, and among the Borom I noticed a shield made from an elephant's ear, and shaped as shown



Fig. 85. A Kuru warrior, Berom tribe—
Bauchi Province



Fig. 86. Berom attacking— Bauchi Province



Fig. 87. A Berom wearing greaves—Bauchi Province



Fig. 88. A Bauchi Province horseman




Fig. 89. Berom warriors—
Bauchi Province



Fig. 90. Irigwe horsemen—Bauchi Province

in the illustration (Fig. 83). The Tera, Jera, and Longuda use oval leather shields, and the Waja pattern is something like a figure eight. The Bachama and Kentu use a triangular hide shield, carried with the sharp angle upwards.

In contrast to the small round leather shield we find also the small round shield made of woven strips of palm-bark. This type belongs to what Dr. Montandon calls the pre-Malayo-Nigrific group, and is found among the Berom and Ganawuri of the Bauchi Plateau, and the Kagoro of Nasarawa Province. The ancient Jukun are said to have used round wooden shields. The Berom shield is about twenty inches in diameter, and the material used is the bark of the fan-palm, a tree which is more characteristic of the northern than of the forest regions. The wooden shields of the Buduma, Kanembu, and Shuwa are quite different, being made of the ambatch tree, and elliptical (Buduma) or rectangular, thus :  (Kanembu and Shuwa). The Zumper use rectangular wooden shields of palm-wood, and the Gwari Gengi wooden shields treated with shea-butter. It is interesting to note that, when the British were advancing against Kano, the Emir (Aliu) had rectangular shields of wood specially made and covered with hide in order to protect his followers from rifle bullets !

(b) *Other Armour.* In the Muslim states both men and horses were commonly protected by coverings of quilted cotton. Chosen warriors wore chain-armour, which covered the body as far as the knees. The collar was made of leather, and decorated with the lozenge pattern. It was drawn together in front by leather straps, which were passed through the rings of the armour, and made

fast at one end by a leather knob. The headpiece worn was a padded helmet, without any steel or iron protection. It was surrounded by a tin receptacle like a candlestick, into which a piece of bamboo, ornamented with ostrich feathers, was stuck. Some of the pagan tribes also wore helmets in war. The Berom helmet is made of palm-fibre, with a covering of Hibiscus fibre. It is usually smeared with oil, adorned with pieces of brass, and surmounted with plumes of goat's hair, a strip of which was carried down underneath the chin.

The horseman's legs were protected with leather flaps. Iron greaves, with raised prongs as stirrups, were used by the Berom and Sura. Spurs are sometimes used independently of the greaves, and two varieties were noted. (1) The spur may be three iron prongs protruding from a circular iron leglet; or (2) it may take the form of nail-like pieces of iron, stuck at right angles into a piece of flattened wood, which is bound with fibre round the leg above the ankle, a tuft of grass being inserted between the wood and the skin to prevent rubbing (Kuru-Berom).

A haversack was usually carried by head-hunters in which to deposit the heads of enemies. Among the Muslim peoples the Bowman commonly carried a rope, attached to the quiver, with which to tie up his prisoners.

Only two instances of the use of parrying sticks came to my notice, viz. among the Semi-Bantu Ngwoi and Pongo. The stick takes the form of a bamboo with roan's horn attached, and appears to resemble that used by some Indian tribes.

NORTHERN PROVINCES (NIGERIA)
Tribal Map



REFERENCE	
Provincial names	KANO
" headquarters	BIDA
Tribal names	Fulani
Other towns of first importance	Katsina
Boundaries international	-----
" provincial	-----
" tribal	-----
Main roads	=====
Railways in operation	=====
Proposed Railway	-----



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WITHDRAWN

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